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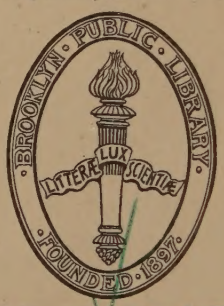

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ELKANAH SETTLE

HIS LIFE AND WORKS

By F. C. BROWN

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CONTENTS

PAGE

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vi

PREFACE vii

SECTION I

A. BIOGRAPHY

I. PARENTAGE AND BIRTH 3

Distribution of the Name of Settle
The Poet's Ancestry
The Poet's Parents
The Poet's Birth

II. CHILDHOOD, EDUCATION, AND FIRST PUBLISHED WORK . 8

Westminster School
First Poem
Trinity College, Oxford
First Play, "Cambyses"
Death of the Poet's Father

III. LONDON 11

At Court
"The Empress of Morocco" at Whitehall
"The Empress of Morocco" at Dorset Gardens
Quarrel with Dryden
A Burlesque of "The Empress of Morocco"
The Poet's Marriage
"Herod and Mariamne"
"The Conquest of China"
"Love and Revenge"
Quarrel with Shadwell
"Ibrahim"
"Pastor Fido"

IV. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES 21

Pope-burning Pageants
"Female Prelate"
Pope-burning Pageants
Whig Pamphlets
First of the Eulogistic Poems
"Absalom Senior"
"The Heir of Morocco"

PAGE

Quarrel with Otway
Turns Tory
His Uncle's Death
Later Work for Tories
A Poem to Orange

V. Return to the Stage 27
"Distress'd Innocence"
City Poet; City Pageants
"Fairy Queen"
"New Athenian Comedy"
"The Ambitious Slave"
"Philaster"
"The World in the Moon"
Revival of the Lord Mayor's Show
Presentation Poems
Bartholomew Fair
"The City-Ramble"
"The Lady's Triumph"

VI. Last Years 42
Charterhouse
Death and Burial
Personal Appearance

VII. Autograph Remains 45
"Love and Revenge"
Poem to Rawlinson
Letters

B. QUARRELS AND CONTROVERSIES

Incidents and Details 51
Introduction
Beginning of the Quarrel with Dryden
Rochester's Relation to the Quarrel
Dryden's "Notes and Observations"
Settle's Defense
Quarrel with Shadwell
Pope-burning Pageants
"Pope Joan"
"The Character of a Popish Successor"
Tory Replies
Settle's Defense
"Absalom Senior"

PAGE

Turns Tory
"A Narrative"
"The Present State of England"
Editorial Work

SECTION II

AN ACCOUNT OF SETTLE'S WORKS

A List of the Plays 77

Discussion of the Plays 78

Introduction
"Cambyses"
"The Empress of Morocco"
"Herod and Mariamne"
"The Conquest of China"
"Love and Revenge"
"Ibrahim"
"Pastor Fido"
"The Female Prelate"
"The Heir of Morocco"
"Distress'd Innocence"
"The Fairy Queen"
"The New Athenian Comedy"
"The Ambitious Slave"
"Philaster"
"The World in the Moon"
"The Virgin Prophetess"
"The Siege of Troy"
"The City-Ramble"
"The Lady's Triumph"
"The Expulsion of the Danes from Britain"

Poems on Occasions 109

City Pageants 122

Miscellaneous Prose Works 127

The Translation 128

Controversial Works 129

Doubtful Works 131

Works Wrongly Attributed to Settle 133

Bibliography 135

Index 161

ILLUSTRATION

PAGE

Title-Page of *Love and Revenge* 45

Letter to Sir Hans Sloane 46

Pope-burning Pageants, 1680 62

Title-Page of One of the Wedding-Poems 118

"The Amphitheatre of Union" 122

"The Goldsmith's Laboratory" 124

"A Triumphant Chariot of Gold" 124

"The Temple of Honour" 126

PREFACE

When this work was begun, it was my intention to publish a short biography of Elkanah Settle and a brief discussion of his works, with an edition of *The Empress of Morocco*, a play which has engaged the interest of the student of the drama and of stage-construction chiefly because it was the occasion of one of the most interesting literary quarrels of the Restoration period, and because it contains, as the "first illustrated drama in England," the most exact information which we possess concerning the interior of a Restoration theater. Later I decided to confine the dissertation to a study of the life and works of Settle, and to publish the play in a separate volume. The material for the edition of the play is in hand, and the volume will appear at an early date.

The present work consists of two parts. Section I contains the "Biography" and a separate discussion, under "Quarrels and Controversies," of the literary squabbles and political struggles in which the poet was involved. Section II aims to give, in the "Discussion of the Plays," information sufficient to enable the student of the drama to judge of the character and merit of these productions since they, never having been reprinted since the poet's death, are not easily accessible. This section contains, furthermore, an account of Settle's custom of having copies of his poems specially bound for presentation, and a brief discussion of his miscellaneous productions, in which are included the titles of many poems never before mentioned in a list of his works.

The list of persons to whom I am indebted for aid in the preparation of this work is a large one; it is with much pleasure that I now publicly offer my thanks to them.

I am indebted for the loan of books and folios to John H. Wrenn, Esq., of Chicago, whose splendid collection of rare books furnished the titles of some poems not generally attributed to Settle; to William C. Lane, Esq., librarian of Harvard University, by whose kindness I was permitted the use of some very rare volumes; to James H. Canfield, Esq., librarian at Columbia University; to John C. Schwab, Esq., librarian at Yale University; and to Mr. A. E. Hill, librarian of the Modern Language Libraries at the University of Chicago, whose kindness and interest were of great assistance to me. For answers to inquiries addressed to them I acknowledge my obligations to Sir Walter S. Prideaux, clerk of the Goldsmiths' Company, George B. Yapp, Esq.,

clerk of the Grocers' Company, Charles Lomas, Esq., clerk of the Vintners' Company, and H. S. Wright, Esq., assistant receiver, Charterhouse, of London; to Daniel Hipwell, Esq., of Richmond Hill, Surrey; to Frederick A. Page-Turner, Esq., of Brighton; to R. W. Roper, Esq., bursar of Trinity College, Oxford; to James Gow, Litt.D., head-master of Westminster School; to the Reverend W. W. C. Baker, rector of Dunstable; and to Mr. T. A. Knott, Chicago.

My thanks are especially due to Dr. Reginald R. Sharpe, town clerk, London, for assistance in an examination of the records of the City of London; to A. W. Pollard, Esq., of the British Museum, whose unfailing kindness and splendid scholarship aided me in many ways; to W. H. B. Somerset, Esq., Bodley's assistant librarian; to Edward M. Borrajo, Esq., librarian to the Corporation of the City of London, who called my attention to valuable material in the Guildhall, and who has answered numerous and tedious inquiries; to Cyril J. Davenport, F.S.A., librarian, British Museum, who kindly gave me the use of his manuscript notes, to which I am indebted for much of the material in this study concerning Settle's bindings; to Thomas J. Wise, Esq., London, who furnished me information concerning the authorship of numerous poems and lent me rare folios from his valuable collection. To Dr. F. J. Furnivall, whose kindly interest and wide knowledge were for so many years at the service of all students of English, I am indebted for valuable assistance of many kinds.

To Professors R. M. Lovett and A. H. Tolman my thanks are due for helpful criticism of the manuscript; and to Professor Myra Reynolds, who first awakened my interest in the subject. Professor F. I. Carpenter aided in the plan of the work, lent me numerous rare books, spent much time in making an examination of my material, and gave invaluable counsel and criticism concerning the manuscript. Professor John M. Manly has given encouragement and most helpful advice during the entire progress of the work. He aided me especially during the search for material in London, Oxford, and elsewhere in England, and has assisted me in more ways than can here be enumerated.

F. C. B.

Durham
North Carolina

SECTION I

A. BIOGRAPHY

I. PARENTAGE AND BIRTH

Distribution of the Name

Those who bore the name of Settle before the time of the poet do not make a long list. They were of a class, beyond doubt, that figured little in literary, political, and religious affairs, so that recorded instances of the name are not very common. The first recorded holder is one Dionyse, who was "one of the company" in the voyage which Frobisher made into the "west and north-west regions," and who returned to England to write an account of the trip and of his experiences in the far-off western world, of which so little was then known. The title of his book is *A true reporte of the last voyage into the west and northwest regions &c. by — — Frobisher. Written by Dionyse Settle, one of the company in the sayde voyage, and servant to the right honourable the earle of Cumberland. 1577.*[1] There appears to be no other information concerning him. The next Settle of whom there is record was Thomas. A list of his works is given by Ames.[2] He was a contemporary of Dionyse Settle, but whether a relative it is impossible to say. He may be identical with the Thomas Settle, "minister at Boxted in Suffolk," who flourished between 1575 and 1593.[3] There is a will, bearing the date 1597, preserved in Somerset House, London, of one Matthew Settle of the county of Norfolk;[4] but since there is apparently no other information concerning him, one cannot say whether he was related to his contemporaries of the same name or not. Another will, dated 1625, records the name of a John Settle of the county of Leicester.[5] The fact

[1] Copy in the British Museum.

[2] Ames (Joseph), *Typographical Antiquities* (1790), 1338. The account is as follows: "Settle, Thom. his Catechisme. For him Ib. 31. Licensed 22 May, 1587, to him and Hen. Hasselup. Octavo. He had also license for the following: In 1580, 'A dialogue between Adge & Youthe.' In 1581, 'A lamentac'on for the deathe of Mr. Christopher Watson, minister.' In 1586, 'A doleful ditty for the death of Sir P. Sydne.' In 1588, 'A miraculous-discourse of a woman' &c. as p. 1054. In 1589, 'A thing in prose of the entertaynment of the Scottish King and his Queen at their entring into Scotland, with the Q. coronac'n.' In 1590, 'A pleasant ditty, dialoguewise between Tarlton's ghost and Robyn good fellowe.' Also for many ballads, from 1570 to 1593."

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. LI.

[4] *The British Record Society, Lim., 1901*, XXV, 372: "1597. Settle, Matthew, Norwich, Gestwicke, Norfolk. 29 Cobham."

[5] *Calendars of Wills . . . . Relating to the County of Leicester. . . . . The British Record Society, Lim., 1902*, XXVII, 120: "Settle, John; Loughborowe, No. 18."

that Leicester is comparatively near to Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, in both of which relatives of the poet lived, causes one to suspect that this Settle was a relative of the dramatist—perhaps his great-grandfather.

There can be little doubt that the other recorded holders of the name were of the poet's family. These lived at Hemel Hempstead, a small town some twenty miles from Dunstable, the poet's birthplace, and were "barber-chirurgeons." One of them, a second John Settle, does not seem to have been a very enthusiastic church-goer, a fact to which we are indebted for the record of his name. In the *Hertford County Records* are found these entries:

Ancestry

> Volume for 1622. 11. Presentments of the jury of the Hundred of Dacorum, the half hundred of Hitchin, at the Sessions held at Hartford, 30th September.
>
> Henry Pratt, of Little Gaddesden, carpenter, John Settell, and Marjorie his wife, "Spynster," of Hemel Hempstede; William Wells, of Great Gaddesden, Yeoman; John Geoffrey, of the same, wheel-wright, for having absented themselves from their respective parish churches.[1]
>
> Volume for 1626. 5. Indictment of George Bayley, late of Standon, gent., John Settle, of Hemelhempsted, barber, and Edward Field, late of Lillie, yeoman, for not attending church.[2]

There is no positive evidence that he was of the poet's family, but "Elcana," of the same town, is known to have been the uncle or "great-uncle" of his namesake. This Elkanah is first recorded as a cony-poacher:

> Volume for 1620, 20 November. Recognizance of Francis Cumes and Richard Puddifatt, to give evidence against Elkana Settle, for chasing and taking conies in enclosed ground belonging to Francis Coomes in Hemel Hempstead.[3]

His relationship to the younger Elkanah is shown in a pamphlet which appeared in April,[4] 1682, called *A Character of the True Blue Protestant Poet; or the Pretended Author of the Character of a Popish Successor.* In discussing the "Birth and Quality" of the poet, the author of this piece gives just the facts needed to show the relation that existed between the poet and his benefactor:

> But now, that this may not appear altogether Malice and Reflection upon him, and some that are pleased to Infamously called his Friends; we will a little consider what our Heroe has been and what he *still* is; and because he may lose no Honour that may accrue to him; I will in the first place begin with his *Birth*,

[1] *Hertford County Records. Notes and Extracts from the Sessions Rolls 1581 to 1698. Compiled . . . . by W. J. Hardy, F.S.A. Hertford:* 1905, I, 53.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, 59.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 52.

[4] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 687.

and *Quality*, He was indeed the reputed Son of his Mother's Husband; a *Barber* in *Dunstable*, and his good Mother sold Ale; and because his Family would not Degenerate, or they thought themselves honoured in their Trade; the better half of his Generation are *Barbers*, he was designed for one; his *Brother* was a *Barber*, and his *Great Uncle* that bred him up, and gave him all he has, is a *Barber* now living at *Hempstead*, in Hartfordshire, well known by the name of *Old Cana*, or E. S.

This might be regarded as being the mere fiction of an angry opponent if other facts did not substantiate his statements and show that he knew the poet's family pretty well. The attack was published in 1682 while the elder Elkanah was yet alive. He died the next year, and the record of his will, preserved at Somerset House, shows that the information in the *True Blue Protestant Poet* was fairly accurate:

> Filed in the Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, is an administration bond of the Archdeaconry Court of Huntingdon, dated 23, Nov. 1683, in the goods of Elkanah Settle, of Hemel Hamsteed, Co. Herts., barber, deceased. The administrator is Elkanah Settle, of St. Andrews, Holborn, in the City of London, gentlemen, "his kinsman." The sureties are William Cademan,[1] citizen and bookseller, of London, and Morgan Barber, of the parish of St. Andrew's aforesaid, barber-surgeon. The penalty of the bond is one hundred pounds.[2]

The date is identical with that of his burial which is recorded in the Parish Register at Hemel Hempstead as "November 23rd, 1683."[3] These facts show beyond question that the family in Hertfordshire was closely related to that of the poet in Bedford, but it is not so clear whether the elder Elkanah was a brother or an uncle of the younger Elkanah's father. The most reasonable supposition is that he was a brother, and that the John Settle, last mentioned, was their father and the grandfather of the dramatist. In 1620, it is recalled, the elder Elkanah was in trouble for hunting rabbits without permission. This seems rather the act of a boy than of a man, and it is reasonable to suppose that he was but a youth in 1620, when it is remembered that he did not die until 1683. The father of the poet, Josias, whose death occurred in 1666, seems also to have been young in 1620, for his oldest child, Elkanah, was born in 1648. But this John Settle was a married man in 1622, and was, very probably, the head of the family at Hemel Hempstead.

[1] This was the printer of many of Settle's plays.

[2] *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, ed. Frederic A. Blaydes, II, 266.

[3] The spelling in the Parish Register is "Ellcana."

Josias located in Dunstable when he married—perhaps he married there. When his first child was born, he called him after his bachelor brother whose business had prospered in the home town and who promised, no doubt, to aid in the education of the boy; there can be no doubt that the elder Elkanah furnished the money for the education of his namesake, and, at his death, gave him his property.[1] It is possible that the boy lived much of his time, during his earlier years, with his uncle at Hemel Hempstead, and knew the family of Bluck of Hunsdon Hall, whose promising young scion, Matthew, forms the subject of Settle's poem *Spes Hunsdoniana* in 1702.

The Poet's Parents

Josias had learned his father's business, and, when he moved to Dunstable, pursued the vocation there; it may be conjectured that he opened a tavern[2] soon after his marriage, a business in which his wife aided him, for the author of *The True Blue Protestant Poet* says, "his good Mother sold Ale." As the business prospered, he purchased another inn, the "Bell,"[3] and must have accumulated considerable property before his death in 1666.

The maiden name of the poet's mother is not known. There are no contemporary entries of marriages, births, or deaths in the Parish Register at Dunstable from about 1641 to about 1650. All entries for those years, that were made at all, were put in after 1650.[4] Thus there is no record of the parents' marriage, which probably occurred in 1647, and the mother's name must probably remain unknown. Her given name was Sarah.

According to the Parish Register, which contains on the same page the births of all the children, there were four sons and one daughter, of whom

[1] *Vide The True Blue Protestant Poet* and the uncle's will.

[2] This was the "Nagg's Head." I surmise that this was his first inn, because he speaks of it in his will as his "dwellinghouse." It is known to have been a tavern, for it is still standing, practically unchanged, and still used as a hotel. The building is not so good as the other hotels in the town, and perhaps it was not in Settle's day, but its location was then, as it is now, the most desirable. It stands on the top of the hill on Watling Street on the corner of the principal cross-street. This house was very probably the birthplace of the poet.

[3] The house mentioned in his will as the "Bell" may still be in existence, but it is no longer a hotel nor is it known by that name now. Its general location is easily found, for the "Saracen's Head" near which the "Bell" was said to have been, is now one of the chief hotels of the place. Old residents remember both the "Bell" and the "George." The latter was mentioned in Josias Settle's will as standing near the "Bell."

[4] I was told by the rector that this was the case in many of these registers, a fact, he says, due to an order from Cromwell forbidding entries to be made.

Elkanah was the oldest. He was born February 1, 1648, Sarah in 1649, Josias in 1652, John in 1654, and Jeremiah in 1657.[1] The second and third sons apparently died before 1666, for there is no mention of Josias or John in the father's will, made that year. To Sarah, Jeremiah, and the mother all the property was left.[2] The reason for there being no mention of the oldest child, Elkanah, is to be found in the fact that the uncle had already given him an education and had promised to leave him his property.

The Poet's Birth

There is no information later than the will of Josias (1666) concerning the daughter Sarah and her mother. Jeremiah married Elizabeth Dyre at Luton, a small town near Dunstable, on July 6, 1679, and his son George was baptized at Woburn April 18, 1680.[3]

[1] The entries in the Dunstable Parish Register read as follows:

"June the 26th, 1656:

"At the request of Josias Settle I did writt down the berts of his childerne the same day above written.

"Elkanah Settle sonne of Josias & Sarae his wiff was borne Febrer the ferst ~~1648~~ 1647.

"Josias the sonne of Josias and Sarae was born the 26th aprill 1652.

"John the Sonne of Josias Settle & Sarae his wiff was Borne the 7th of July 1654.

"Jeremiah Settle the Son of Josias was born November the 22, 1657."

The record of the baptisms (p. 44) reads:

"Baptisms 1647

"Elkanah the Sonne of Josias Settle and Sarah his wife was baptized the 9th day of February 1647.

"Sarah the daughter of Josias Settle and Sarah his wife was baptized the 31 day of October 1649.

"Josias the Sonne of Josias Settle and Sarah his wife was baptized the 4t day of May 1652.

"John the Sonne of Josias Settle was Baptized the 14t day of July 1654."

"Baptisms 1661

"Baptisms 1662

"Baptized 1657

"Jeremiah ye Sonne of Josias Settle was Baptized the 29 of November 1657."

There seems to be a discrepancy in these entries with reference to Jeremiah: his birth is put down as 1657, yet the first entry is said to have been made in 1656. The probability is that the birth of this child was recorded a year later than the others, for th handwriting seems to be different.

[2] *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, III, 280: "Some Bedfordshire Wills. Abstracted from the Original Wills, and certified copies, at the District Court of Probate, Northampton. Josias Settle, of Dunstable, Barber Chirurgeon, 15 June, 1666. Wife Sarah to be sole Extrix. To s. Jeremiah S. his dwellinghouse in Watling St., Dunstable, called the 'Nagg's Head,' on condition that he pay to my da. Sarah £40; to d. Sarah house called the 'Bell,' in South St., Dunstable, between the 'Saracen's Head' & the 'George.' Residue to wife. Pr. 29 Apr. 1667."

[3] *Bedfordshire Notes and Queries*, II, 266. Mr. Blaydes, the editor, took the entries from the "Bishop's Transcripts" of the Luton and Woburn Parish Registers.

II. CHILDHOOD, EDUCATION, AND FIRST PUBLISHED WORK

From what is known of the poet's relatives it is safe to infer that none of them was educated. But probably the young Elkanah showed signs of precocity which his relatives interpreted as indicative of high intellectual promise. At any rate, for this young nephew who bore his name the uncle early had visions of an education and a place of honor and influence. There is no record of the boy's life during the first fifteen years, but it is safe to conjecture that he was early sent to school in Dunstable, Hemel Hempstead, or some place close by, and that he was an apt and studious pupil, for, by 1663, at the age of fifteen, he was "King's Scholar at Westminster."[1]

Westminster

As the present head-master of Westminster suggests, it is probable that young Settle did not make a very high record in his studies after gaining his scholarship, for he was not elected to a university scholarship either at Christ Church, Oxford, or Trinity College, Cambridge, the two institutions connected with Westminster. He probably left this school in the spring of 1666.

His First Published Poem

The poet's fondness for writing on political subjects showed itself even at this early age. In May, 1666,[2] he wrote a patriotic poem, called *Mare Clausum: or a Ransack for the Dutch*, on the occasion of the war which had been declared against England by Holland and France the previous January. The work characterizes the Dutch as treacherous, cruel, and grasping, and pictures the English fleet as driving the enemy from the sea. This is the poet's first known work, and is written in the rhyming couplet, a form which he used in almost all of his occasional poems.

From Westminster Settle went to the university at Oxford some time in 1666. The date of his admission to Trinity College is not recorded in the Admission Book, but Wood says that he "became a com. . . . . in Midsummer term, an. 1666,"[3] and the "Caution Money book shows

[1] MS note in the copy of *Eusebia Triumphans* (1709) in the British Museum (press mark "C. 66. f. 23"). This note is confirmed by a letter from the head-master, J. Gow, Esq. (February 8, 1909), which reads: "Elkanah Settle was admitted a King's Scholar of Westminster School in 1663 or thereabouts. The indentures of admission about that time are lost, but the buttery books show who were King's Scholars."

[2] The title-page reads: "Licensed, *May 30*, 1666."

[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 683.

that he paid Caution Money to the College in 1666 and received it back in 1671."[1] Of his record at Oxford little is known. He must have formed at least one friendship among his fellow-commoners, for Wood tells us that "William Butler Fyfe a gent. com. of Trin. Coll. assisted him in the writing of his first play Cambyses,"[2] and Settle himself says, "I would not be ungrateful to the memory of the Dead, as not to acknowledge, that my fellow Student had some hand with me in the beginning of the Tragedy."[3] But it is not likely that he made many friends there or during any other period of his life, for the facts of his later career show conclusively that he was not of a temperament to form close friendships. Those who were his enemies were generally very severe in their attacks upon him, while his professed defenders and admirers never manifested any intimate friendship. Since most of the poet's time at Oxford must have been spent[4] in the preparation of *Cambyses*[5] which was, in all probability, begun there,[6] he was not able to do very much studying. But he must have been a good student and had good training prior to his matriculation at Oxford, for most biographers of Settle assert that he had a good education, a statement that one who reads his works cannot call unjust. He was able to write poems in Latin, made apt criticisms of French translations, was well informed in English, French, and ancient history, and showed a knowledge of English dramatic literature.

Trinity College, Oxford, 1666

Settle completed his *Cambyses* before Christmas, 1666, and was fortunate enough to have it accepted for presentation by D'Avenant's company then playing at the theater in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. It was "the first new Play that was acted"[7] by this company after the fire, and proved to be very successful, running "six days with a full

First Play

[1] Extract from a letter from the bursar of Trinity College, October 25, 1908.

[2] Wood, *op. cit.*, IV, 683.

[3] Postscript to the first edition (1671) of *Cambyses*. Later editions omit the postscript.

[4] If I am correct in concluding (see below, p. 11) that Settle did not remain at Oxford longer than from midsummer, 1666, to January, 1667, during which time he began and completed *Cambyses* for its presentation in December, 1666, he could not have given much time to his studies while at the university.

[5] First presented in London in December, 1666, about six months after his admission to Trinity. He probably left the university early in 1667 (see p. 11 below).

[6] If Fyfe aided him in the "beginning of the Tragedy," as he states, the work must have been begun at Oxford, for he could hardly have known this "fellow-student" before his admission to Oxford.

[7] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 36.

audience."[1] The young author succeeded in gaining the favor of Anne, duchess of Buccleugh and Monmouth, who patronized the play on its first presentation[2] and who, in all probability, introduced the young poet to others of the court, whose favor and patronage he was soon to receive.

Death of the Poet's Father

Soon after the young poet had gained his first dramatic success with his *Cambyses*, Josias Settle, his father, died at Dunstable. The exact date of his death was, apparently, not recorded, but his will was placed on record April 29, 1667. Since the father had provided for the poet's mother, sister, and brother, and Elkanah had his uncle to aid him in a financial way, the father's death does not seem to have affected the young man's career.

[1] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 36; Dennis (Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer*) says that the piece "was Acted for Three Weeks together." These statements are frequently said to be contradictory; I do not think they are necessarily so. Downes says the piece "succeeded six days with a full audience," but he does not say that it was not presented after this.

[2] *Vide* the "Epistle Dedicatory" to the duchess prefixed to *Cambyses*.

III. LONDON

The success of *Cambyses* very probably cut short the poet's stay in Oxford. Wood says[1] that he left the university before taking a degree, but he does not mention a date for his withdrawal from college. A writer in *The Gentleman's Magazine*[2] says that "he ran away from Oxford with the players at an Act, as Otway did the same year, 1674"; but as Malone says, this statement cannot be true, for by 1674 the poet had written three plays, had answered Dryden's pamphlet, had enjoyed court favor, and married. There is every reason to believe that Settle left the university not later than the spring of 1667, perhaps soon after the successful run of *Cambyses* in December and January, for it is hardly thinkable that a young writer whose play had been so successful as to fill the Lincoln's-Inn-Fields theater for six nights, "run for three weeks,"[3] and gain the favor and patronage of influential members of the court, should be content to pursue quietly his studies at Oxford when there were awaiting him in London the applause of the multitude, the praise and favor of lords and ladies, and, as it doubtless seemed to him, lasting literary fame. In concluding that Settle left Oxford in 1667 I do not forget the fact that the Caution-Money Book of Trinity College shows that the money was not returned to the poet until 1671.[4] Settle tells us in the "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim* that, by 1669, he had written *The Conquest of China* and *The Empress of Morocco*. We know also that the latter was twice presented before the king in the private theater at Whitehall in 1669 or 1670, and that it made the author popular at court whose favoritism he enjoyed from 1670 to about 1675.[5] It seems impossible that he could have written two plays, could have superintended the presentation of one of them, could have enjoyed court favor, and still remain a student at Oxford. We may suppose, with reason, that the young playwright, flushed with the success of *Cambyses* and the patronage of Anne, duchess of Buccleugh and Monmouth, left Oxford suddenly and did not ask for his caution-money; we may suppose also that, when *Cambyses* was played in Oxford in 1672, or late in 1671, the college returned to the poet the money which he had deposited in 1666.

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] Volume for 1745, p. 99. This is quoted and commented on by Malone in his *The . . . . Works of John Dryden*, I, 468, and note.

[3] Dennis, *op. cit.*

[4] *Vide ante*, pp. 8, 9 and n.

[5] *Vide* below, pp. 12, 14–16, 51.

Settle was not idle after his arrival in the metropolis, nor did he wait until he had spent a fortune before beginning to write.[1] He had already decided, no doubt, upon literature as a profession, and possessed acumen enough to understand that he must strike the popular note and follow the fashion if he was to succeed. The heroic tragedies in vogue attracted him. Naturally quick to seize the popular fancy and make it his own, and possessing a talent for imitation, his early success is not surprising. Popular subjects for poems on passing events were not neglected. He made the Great Fire the subject of *An Elegy on the Late Fire and Ruins of London*, published some time in 1667.[2]

At Court

Anne, duchess of Buccleugh and Monmouth, had been kind to the young author in patronizing his first play,[3] and her favor had very probably first brought him to the notice of the king and the earls of Norwich, Rochester, and Mulgrave, who seem to have been especially instrumental in furthering his interests.[4] Such distinguished notice and favor were soon to make him the court favorite and "idol of fashion," an honor which he continued to enjoy for five or six years. This favoritism both pleased and incited Settle. Before two years passed he had written two more plays, *The Conquest of China* and *The Empress of Morocco*.[5] The former of these may have been offered to D'Avenant's company and rejected; more probably, after the success of *Cambyses*, the author had been asked to write a play for presentation at court, and had produced *The Conquest of China*, which he himself did not like and which was not approved by those who had in charge the selection of plays for presentation at Whitehall. At any rate, this piece was never acted at court, and not until 1673 or 1674 at the theater.

The Empress of Morocco, however, by which the poet is best known and which has caused his name to live and to be associated with those of Crowne, Shadwell, Rochester, and Dryden, but which, some think, served to frustrate the development of his ability in that it made him conceited and haughty, was selected for presentation at Whitehall. It won for Settle the most enthusiastic applause of a brilliant court, the approval of many in the

[1] *Vide* Whincop, *A List of the English Dramatic Poets*, 281.

[2] Title from MS note in Oldys' copy of Langbaine in the British Museum ("C. 28. g. 1").

[3] *Vide* "Epistle Dedicatory" to Anne, duchess of Buccleugh and Monmouth, prefixed to *Cambyses*.

[4] *Vide* below, pp. 13, 14, 52, 53, 57.

[5] "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim:* "For the *Conquest* was written before *Morocco* . . . . : And *Morocco* which had been made a year and a half before it came upon the stage, was Acted in less than three years after *Cambyses*."

kingdom, and the undying jealousy and enmity of some of the contemporary playwrights. This mediocre production, on account of the favor of court, the special effort of the printer, and the chance attack in the Dedication upon Dryden, was destined to become a factor in changing the taste for heroic plays, in causing Dryden to use a different poetic medium, and in promoting the use of the spectacular in the drama. Moreover, it has preserved for later students of the drama and of the method of stage-construction the most exact information we possess concerning the interior of a Restoration theater. The date of the first private presentation of the play at Whitehall is not definitely known, but it was very early in 1670 or late in 1669.[1] Mulgrave wrote the Prologue, which was spoken by the Lady Elizabeth Howard, and the parts were acted by "great personages of the court."[2] The elaborate setting, on which large sums of money were no doubt expended, and the extraordinary interest which Norwich,[3] Rochester, and Mulgrave manifested in their attempts to make the presentation successful made the piece so pleasing to the king and court that a second performance at Whitehall was commanded. For this latter occasion Rochester contributed a new prologue, and the same distinguished persons acted the parts. The rhymed verse, the subject-matter, the scenic display—all were in such harmony with the strange taste of the time for such productions that the play, aided by the favor and applause of the king and court, which set literary, as well as all other styles, was sure to create a sensation, guarantee full houses at its public performance, and make the name of its author, for a time at least, famous.

Public Presentation of "The Empress of Morocco"

Accordingly, the play was presented at the new theater in Dorset Gardens (1671). This structure stood on the site of the old "Dorset House or Sackville House, formerly Salisbury Court, a mansion of the Bishops of Salisbury, and the house in which Thomas Sackville wrote *Ferrex and Porrex*."[4] This new playhouse, which had been designed for D'Avenant by Sir Christopher Wren, was built at a cost of £8,000.[5] When, on November 9, 1671, the new theater was finished, the Duke of York's company abandoned their old one in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields

1 *Vide* "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim*, quoted in part on p. 12, n.

2 Cf. Whincop, *op. cit.; Biographia Dramatica*, II, 192; Beloe, *Anecdotes of Literature and Scarce Books*, I, 327.

3 See below, p. 52.

4 Morley, *English Plays*, 326.

5 Fitzgerald, *A New History of the English Stage*, I, 141. See fuller account in Lowe, *Life of Betterton*, 112 ff.; Morley, *loc. cit.*

and began acting in the new house. *The Empress of Morocco* was very probably one of the first plays acted on the stage of this magnificent playhouse,[1] and was fortunate in being presented at this time when so much new machinery and so many new "scenes" had been imported from France, and when so great an effort was being made by the company to make the new house popular and thus quiet the fears of the subscribers that the new financial venture would not pay. The play was fortunate in another way: the staging was in charge of Betterton who, it seems, had recently visited Paris "by the special command of the King, in order to observe how the English theater could be improved in the matter of scenery and decorations."[2] Under such circumstances and with a great reputation on account of its success at court, it is not surprising that it was acted "for a month together,"[3] and that, when it was printed in 1673, the publishers thought it worth while to adorn it with "sculptures" and to raise the price from the usual one shilling to two. The play appeared with a dedication to Henry, earl of Norwich, and a new prologue by the author, in addition to those by Mulgrave and Rochester. The edition is said to have been rapidly exhausted. A second impression, with some slight corrections and the addition of a few lines to the Dedication, was printed the same year.[4]

The Quarrel with Dryden

The references to Dryden in the Dedication seem to have offended the laureate more than anything else that was written against him. The explanation is not that the language was so insulting, but that the older poet was very jealous; and justly so, for here was a writer, far inferior to him in ability, whose very first attempts had achieved a success that his own efforts had not attained, and who seemed likely to continue to hold favors that by right should come to him. So powerful a thing was court fashion that Settle was preferred, especially among the younger men, even to Dryden.[5] The latter was not the only writer envious of Settle's success: Shadwell and Crowne were apparently only too eager to urge Dryden on in his purpose to humble the favorite. The three, brought together by a common jealousy, joined in an unworthy and abusive attack[6] which, however, served only to increase the fame of the younger writer whose play was now quoted familiarly in the

[1] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 683, says it was acted in 1671.

[2] Lowe, *Life of Betterton*, 113.

[3] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer.*

[4] For a full discussion see below, p. 82.

[5] Dennis, *op. cit.*

[6] *Notes and Observations on the "Empress Morocco." Or, Some few Errata's to be Printed instead of the Sculptures with the Second Edition of the Play. 1674.*

City and at the universities.[1] Settle wrote a reply[2] to the attack, fixing the responsibility of authorship on the three writers mentioned, and so dealing with *The Conquest of Granada* as to show that Dryden's strictures were retroactive and that the latter had but stultified himself in his attack. Dryden was vulnerable, for it was mainly he who had created the taste for just such performances as *The Empress of Morocco*, and Settle's thrusts went home.[3] No one perhaps felt the truth of the countercharges more than Dryden, and on no one was the effect so salutary.

The success of the Dorset Garden Theatre in general, and of Settle's *Empress of Morocco* in particular, caused the managers of the rival theater in Drury Lane to seek some means of lessening the popularity of this play and of turning patronage to their house. Accordingly, Thomas Duffet wrote *The Empress of Morocco: A Farce*[4] to turn public opinion against Settle's play, just as he later wrote *The Mock Tempest* and *Psyche Debauched* to burlesque the plays of Dryden and Shadwell. Settle apparently took no notice of the parody, which seems neither to have lessened his popularity nor to have turned any patronage from the new house of the Duke's company.[5]

A Burlesque of "The Empress of Morocco," 1674

Settle's success, however, had brought him into favor with some writers, and, in 1673, Ravenscroft published an epilogue by him in his *Careless Lovers*. This epilogue is interesting in several ways. It shows how completely Settle's insight had gauged the public taste, explains the appearance of so much scenic display in his plays, and gives the motive that impelled him most strongly in all his literary efforts—the desire for popular favor.

By the production of *The Empress of Morocco*, Settle had reached his highest success. Soon afterward, Rochester and other favorites of the gay court, as wanton as its luxurious king, tired of the young poet, and sought entertainment in a new literary favorite; and he who had divided honors with Dryden and basked in the favor of the great had now to resign

[1] Dennis, *op. cit.*

[2] *Notes and Observations on the "Empress of Morocco" Revised. With Some few Errata's to be Printed instead of the "Postscript," with the next Edition of the "Conquest of Granada." . . . . 1674.*

[3] Cf. *The . . . . Works of Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, I, 160.

[4] The piece was published with a full-page frontispiece of a negress who represented the Empress of Morocco. For a photographic reproduction of this rare print see my edition of *The Empress of Morocco*.

[5] Cf. the *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Introduction, xxiv, and 211.

his honors to Crowne, whose masque, *Calisto*, was acted at Whitehall with great *éclat* in 1675.[1]

Marriage

During the high tide of success Settle married. The bride's name was Mary Warner, and the ceremony was performed in the parish church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, on February 28, $167\frac{3}{4}$.[2] There was a story current in William Oldys' time to the effect that this marriage was a bogus affair. The account, which is found in a manuscript note in Oldys' own copy of Langbaine,[3] runs thus:

> Remem. The Story I have from Mr. Reily of his contrivance to Marry a boy in womans cloaths at S[t] Andrews Church Holborn, who passed for a fortune to his rich uncle's or other relations, who would make no provision for him, till he was married & established in some regular course, whereby he might make profit: but it brought him into Trouble at Doctors Commons.

The story is very probably a fiction, for the Westminster Hall records from 1673 to 1678 are silent on the subject, and his enemies in their attacks on his character in 1680, and after, say nothing about such an affair. Concerning his married life nothing is known. *The True Blue Protestant Poet*, a pamphlet called forth in 1682 by Settle's *Character*, attempts to bring the poet into disrepute by the accusation that he had assaulted a woman to whom he was "contracted" in order to break his engagement with her and marry a tapster's daughter. The absence of any mention of a wife by the author of these charges[4] leads one to the conclusion that his wife had died before that year (1682); had she then been living, the fact would have been referred to by this opponent who raked together everything he could that was derogatory to the character of his political enemy among the Whigs. Settle's *Character* had not only incensed all Tories, who became his political

[1] Date from *The . . . . Works of Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, X, 332.

[2] "Lycense—Helkana Settle Gent and Mary Warner, of this parish were married ye 28th of February 1673[4]." My attention was first called to this entry in the Parish Register of St. Andrew's by *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1850), II, 367.

[3] In the British Museum ("C. 28. g. 1").

[4] The accusations concerning his private life were as follows: "He had some years *Courted* a *Gentlewoman* of an *Unspotted Reputation*, and much better than he could deserve; And after many *Solicitations* of her *Love*, and *Vows* of his, ... they were *Contracted*. But afterwards, meeting with a *Tapster's Daughter*, (a Wench he thought would have a better fortune,) he Premeditated . . . . how to break off from his first *Engagement;* and one day, being alone with the Gentlewoman, he on a suddain coming behind her, *struck* her with most *Barbarous fury*, several blows . . . . with the *Hilt* of his *Sword*. . . . .

"She upon his . . . . usage, soon after sued him at *Common Law;* and in the Tryal at *Westminster Hall* last term. . . . ."

enemies, but it also stirred up bitter and lasting hatred among the Catholic constituents of that party, who had more than political ground for resentment. One may therefore be reasonably sure that few things that would reflect on Settle's name were allowed to pass unmentioned. The reference in this same pamphlet, *The True Blue Protestant Poet*, to the fact that Settle had spoken confidentially of his political alliances and writings to a landlady, at whose house he had lived five years, might indicate, though not necessarily, that his wife had been dead at least since 1677. One may, with reason, assume that Mrs. Mary Settle did not live many years after her marriage in 1674, and that the poet had not remarried by 1682. He could have had no wife in 1718 when he entered the Charterhouse,[1] and it is very probable that he never remarried.

"Herod and Mariamne" and "Conquest of China"

The success of *Cambyses* and *The Empress of Morocco* led Settle to continue to produce plays. In 1673–74 two plays were presented under his name, *Herod and Mariamne* and *The Conquest of China by the Tartars*. The first was not written by Settle, as is stated in the Prologue, but by Samuel Pordage "a dozen years before" it was acted. The work is said to have been given to the poet "to use as he pleased."[2] He supplied a prologue and a dedication addressed to the duchess of Albemarle, but it is not known whether he added anything else or in anywise altered the original. The Dedication seems to indicate that the piece, which had many characteristics of the heroic tragedy, was well received. *The Conquest of China*, which was acted before February $167\frac{3}{4}$,[3] was written before *The Empress of Morocco*;[4] why it was not presented earlier the author does not say. The piece must have met with very ill success; it was not printed until 1676;[5] there is no record of a second edition or of its revival at any later date; and its author practically says, in the dedication to Lord Castle-Rizing, that it was a failure. The poor reception is attributed to the malice of enemies, of whom he speaks in the Dedication and again in the Prologue and Epilogue.

Settle's next dramatic effort was an adaptation of William Heminge's tragedy, *The Fatal Contract*, which was itself "based on a French

1 One of the conditions of entrance is that the candidate must have no wife.

2 Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691), 406.

3 Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 45.

4 "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim*.

5 *The Conquest of China* is usually placed after *Love and Revenge* (printed 1675), because it was not printed until 1676.

Chronicle"[1] and which had been "acted with good applause, by Her Majestie's Servants; and printed in 1653."[2] The new play, called *Love and Revenge*, follows the old in the use of blank verse and the main outline of story, and retains two whole acts *verbatim*.[3] The author said in the Prologue that he was doubtful of the success of the play which Dibdin[4] tells us was received not much better than *The Conquest of China*. The Prologue is of interest in giving Settle's idea of what constituted a popular play. He was confident that "Scene, Machin, or Dance" made a successful production, and that if "the defect of shew" existed, great "Wit" was necessary to make up for it.

"Love and Revenge"

The play has another interest: the Postscript contains some satiric references to Shadwell, and shows what state the quarrel between the poets had reached at this time. This attack by Settle, which was wrongly said by Langbaine[5] to have been unprovoked, was called forth by a satirical scene in a play which Shadwell had had presented before the publication of *Love and Revenge*.[6] Shadwell's reply in the *Libertine* (1676) provoked the lengthy answer from Settle in the "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim*, which makes specific charges of Shadwell's attempts to form "Factions and Cabals to damn him." Dibdin's assertion[7] that Settle entered into this quarrel with Shadwell for no other motive than notoriety cannot be regarded, by one at all familiar with the affair, as tenable. Settle's own statements, which are always fair and frank, make such an opinion impossible: "For wrangling in Print I declare of all Mankind I least delight in, and have given as little just occasion for and indeed, he that has the longest Weapon, and the justest Cause, hath no great reason to boast: for at best we do but make our selves Buffoons at our own Cost, and treat the Town with our Follies."[8]

Quarrel with Shadwell

In 1676, when *Ibrahim* was presented, Settle was quite conscious that he was no longer a favorite.[9] However, in spite of Shadwell's "Factions

[1] Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 161.

[2] Langbaine, *op. cit.*, 247.

[3] See a discussion on p. 85 below.

[4] *History of the Stage*, IV, 188.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 442.

[6] See a discussion on p. 60 below.

[7] *U.s.*

[8] "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim*.

[9] Prologue to *Ibrahim:*

> Applause is grown a strange Coy Mrs. now;
> Courted by All, and yet obtained by few.
> 'Tis true, when any Favourites Plays appear,
> Then Kindness and Good-nature brings you here:
> . . . . . .

and Cabals" and the loss of much court favor, he was not without patrons of influence and power, as is shown by his remarks in the dedication of this play to the duchess of Albemarle, and the work must have met with considerable success. The author's contentment with the reception of the play is expressed in the Dedication, and a second edition was issued in 1694, a fact which indicates considerable popularity; for very few, if any, of his plays that had not been fairly successful ever had more than the first edition. Two very interesting bits of information are furnished by the play: the Prologue gives an idea of the method then in vogue of securing favorable criticism of a play when it was first acted,[1] while the Epilogue shows that Settle was a keen student of human nature; that he was not writing the kind of literature he believed was true to life—that he did not try to create natural characters —but that he was merely giving the audiences what they liked. The Epilogue contains furthermore some strictures upon the taste of the time and a ridicule of D'Avenant's *Siege* and Dryden's *Conquest.*

"Ibrahim," 1676

Every effort was made by the poet in the production of his plays to get material that would please the popular taste. In the *Ibrahim* he had made use of a French romance; about the same time he was working the English translation of the Italian work by Guarini into a pastoral which he called *Pastor Fido: or, The Faithful Shepherd*, and which was acted (in 1676) soon after *Ibrahim* at the Duke's Theatre. In taking this poem as the basis of his play, he had sought a work that was popular with the public[2] and also with his patron.[3] There is little doubt that the piece met with success; the dedication to Lady Delavel indicates this, and shows moreover that its author had reason to esteem his effort rather highly. The play sold well, for it was reprinted in 1689 and again in 1694. As the appearance of *Aureng-Zebe* marked the

"Pastor Fido," 1676

But since our Author wants that Interest,
And those perfections which delight you best;
And none of those kind leading Votes can boast
Let not his Play for his hard Fate be lost.

[1] And to secure the Censures of the Town,
The Pit is fill'd with Friends in the Fore-noon;
And those five long expecting hours you stay,
Are spent in making Proselytes to th' play.

[2] Prologue:

Well Gallants, when we tell you we've been just
To the Renown'd Guarini's sacred dust;
And to secure your good Opinions, say
We've brought an admired Relique into play.

[3] "The Epistle Dedicatory": "Knowing it [*Pastor Fido*] has formerly been your Ladyship's Diversion. . . . ."

end of Dryden's production of rhymed plays and gave its author's intention to desert "his long-loved mistress Rhyme,"[1] so *Pastor Fido* records at almost the same time the end of Settle's use of the heroic couplet in his plays.[2] While Dryden had produced this style of play with the conviction that it was the most appropriate for tragedy, a conviction which he had zealously maintained against all attacks, with Settle the case was different: he had merely studied the prevailing style assiduously to become proficient in it, that he might produce that which would bring him success. And he gave it up, not because his opinion had changed, but because he thought rhymed plays had become unpopular in the public regard. He expressed, in the Epilogue to this piece, no doubt, the general public attitude, and certainly his own feeling toward the use of the rhymed verse for dramatic productions. Perhaps something of the same disgust for his former favorite rhyme was a large force in changing Dryden's conviction, but his pride forebade his acknowledging it:

> Who would not damn a silly Rhiming Fop,
> When there is scarce a Fore-man of a Shop,
> With sense of Animal, and face of Stoick,
> But Courts poor Tawdry Sempstress in Heroick;
> Will make ye Rhimes on Cakes, and Ale; Reherse
> A Holy days Treat, at Islington, in Verse?
> Rhiming, which once had got so much your passion,
> When it became the Lumber of the Nation,
> Like Vests, your seaven years Love, grew out of fashion.[3]

[1] Prologue to *Aureng-Zebe*.

[2] Passages appeared now and then in some later plays in rhymed heroics, but no play had this verse as a prevailing style.

[3] Epilogue to *Pastor Fido*.

IV. POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

There is scant information from which one can surmise what the poet was doing from December, 1676,[1] to "Michaelmas Term," 1680.[2] Of course, time must be allowed for the writing of *Fatal Love*, a poor play which was presented in the latter year, and failed as it deserved; but this is the longest period after 1667 in which he produced no works. Perhaps he wrote, in these years, both plays and poems which have not been preserved; the most reasonable explanation is that, finding himself deserted by court and attacked by enemies, he had offered his services to the Whigs, and had been employed in writing for them during most of this time. At any rate, in 1679, he was engaged[3] by the earl of Shaftesbury and his friends to devise the pageants and manage the ceremony for the pope-burning which was celebrated in November of 1679.[4]

Pope-burning Pageants in 1679

This work for the Whigs in 1679 was the means of bringing Settle into a more wide-reaching controversy than his literary squabbles with Dryden and Shadwell. As the chief literary supporter of the powerful Shaftesbury, who, as leader of the country party, was most vigorously pushing forward a bill for the exclusion of the duke of York from the succession, and whose chief hope of success lay in an aroused hatred against the Catholics, Settle ridiculed the priests and nuns in his *Fatal Love*, which was acted in 1680.

"Female Prelate," 1680

In the same year he wrote *The Female Prelate*, a violent attack on the See of Rome, which appeared with a long dedication to Shaftesbury the same year. This piece of political allegory was "received with unbounded applause by the Whigs"[5] when acted at the Theatre Royal, and was immediately published. It is a vigorous piece of work—all the more reason for the great offense which it gave.[6]

[1] *Pastor Fido* licensed.

[2] *Fatal Love* licensed.

[3] *Vide* Sir George Sitwell, *The First Whig*, 101.

[4] For a description of these pageants see *The . . . . Works of Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, VI, 237–40, where the big copperplate engraving of the procession is reproduced. For a discussion of all Settle's activities in the pope-burning ceremonies, see below, pp. 61–63.

[5] Malone, *Prose Works of John Dryden*, I, 167.

[6] This piece was perhaps referred to more often in dedication, prologue, and epilogue than any other dramatic work produced between 1680 and 1700.

The Female Prelate was presented before September[1] of 1680, and was followed in November by another work for the Whigs, in which Settle was master of ceremonies. This was the famous pope-burning, for which the poet devised the most elaborate pageants[2] on record for such an occasion. The work brought the writer's name into many Tory publications,[3] into the prologues and epilogues of contemporary dramatists, and even into poems written in the following century.[4] Whether the poet's other work recorded[5] for 1680 is of political significance or not, the writer cannot say, since no copy of the piece seems to be extant. The work, presumably in prose, is entitled *The Life and Death of Major Clancie, the Grandest Cheat of His Age.*

Pope-burning Pageants, 1680

Shaftesbury was close to success in the latter part of 1680, and, that he might keep aroused the fear of a Catholic ruler, he very probably procured[6] Settle to write *The Character of a Popish Successor and What England May Expect from Such a One,* which appeared before the meeting of Parliament at Oxford in March, 1681. The pamphlet, as might have been expected, evoked a storm of replies, and Settle found himself attacked from many quarters. The more pretentious of these pamphlets written against his *Character* were answered the same year in *A Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor* and in *The Character of a Popish Successor Compleat.*[7]

Pamphlets for the Whigs

In 1681 Settle seems to have begun a practice, common in his time, of writing eulogistic poems on some distinguished person on the occasion of a funeral, wedding, recovery from sickness, return from travel, etc. These were often privately printed on excellent paper, and handsomely bound in morocco or calf, the covers of which were stamped with armorial devices or coats-of-arms.[8] They did not appear frequently before 1699. The first of them of which

First Eulogistic Poem

[1] Licensed in September.

[2] For an account of this procession and the reproduction of the copperplate engraving which shows the pageants, see below, p. 62.

[3] *Vide* especially numbers of *Heraclitus Ridens* for 1680, 1681, and 1682.

[4] Cf. *The Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. Elwin and Courthope, IV, 181.

[5] Title furnished by Hazlitt, *Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature*, third series.

[6] It is not certainly known that Shaftesbury suggested the production of this pamphlet, but, since he was responsible for Settle's work in the pope-burning, it may be inferred that he suggested this.

[7] For a discussion of the controversial works, see below, pp. 51 ff.

[8] See description below, pp. 109–21.

there is any record is *An Heroick Poem on the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Ossory* (1681), dedicated to the duke of Ormond, the earl's father. The poet tried his skill in translation, the same year, perhaps. His work consists of a rendering into English of the epistle of "Hypsipyle to Jason," and was printed in *Ovid's Epistles Translated by Several Hands.*[1]

"Absalom Senior," 1682

The merciless satire of the first[2] part of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* which appeared "on or before the 17th of November, 1681,"[3] must have aroused the anger of Shaftesbury and other Whig leaders, and provoked them to seek to be avenged upon their enemies. Settle seems to have set to work at once on a reply to vindicate the principal figures of Dryden's satire, and turn public sentiment by making countercharges against the Tory leaders. His poem, entitled *Absalom Senior: or Achitophel Transpos'd*, appeared anonymously "on the 6th of April, 1682."[4] It consists of about fifteen hundred lines in imitation of Dryden's style, and is not unskilfully written.[5]

"The Heir of Morocco," 1682

Although the poet devoted, no doubt, much of his time after 1680 to the writing of political poems and pamphlets, he had not entirely abandoned his work for the stage; his tragedy, *The Heir of Morocco*, was acted by the "King's Company" in 1682. The *Biographia Dramatica* states that there is no record that the play "had any run."[6] Be that as it may, the probabilities are that the piece was not unsuccessful. The Whigs must have been favorable to the play on account of its ridicule of the Tories; it was issued in a second edition in 1694, and was considered of sufficient worth to be revived at Drury Lane in 1709. The Prologue contains an attack on Dryden in which there is a satirical reference to the unprincipled assault on the laureate in Rose Alley in 1679, an affair which was commonly referred to by writers at that time as disgraceful to the innocent sufferer. Although Dryden made no reply, he was doubtless well avenged upon Settle in the *Notes on the Emperor of Morocco, by the Wits.*[7] On account of the ridicule

[1] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 689, gives the date of this publication as 1681. The earliest edition that I have been able to find is in the British Museum, bearing the date of 1683.

[2] The second part, in which Settle appears as "Doeg," did not appear until November, 1682, six months after Settle's reply.

[3] Malone, *op. cit.*, I, 157.

[4] *Ibid.*, 162.

[5] For a fuller account, see below, p. 67.

[6] II, 289.

[7] No copy of this work is known to be extant; I have seen no reference to it except in *A Catalogue of Some Plays Printed* . . . . , pasted in a copy of Langbaine ("C. 45. d. 16") in the British Museum.

of the Tories in the Prologue, this and the Epilogue were printed (1682) on a single sheet in folio[1] and sold extensively, no doubt, among the Whigs.

Quarrel with Otway

During the fight among the political leaders over the Bill of Exclusion, the wordy battle between the literary supporters of the two parties who attacked and defended the duke of York in poem and pamphlet, and satirized each other in prologue and epilogue, pamphlet and poem, resulted sometimes in more than party enmity and personal hatred. As a result of party feeling, an altercation occurred between Settle and Otway, very probably in 1682, which is said to have ended in a duel. Otway had for some time been wielding a strong and somewhat insulting pen for the Tories. He had attacked, in *The Poet's Complaint to his Muse* (1680), Rochester, Shadwell, and Settle, and had very probably written abusive things concerning the last on account of the attack on the duke of York in *The Character of a Popish Successor.* A quarrel arose between them, the immediate cause of which is not known, and Settle is said to have challenged[2] his enemy to a duel. Malone,[3] who seems to have relied on Shadwell's *Tory Poets*[4] for his authority, says that a duel was fought; but, since other evidence[5] contradicts this assertion, one cannot say whether an actual encounter took place or not.

Turns Tory, 1683

The years from 1679 to 1683 mark the period of Settle's chief political activities for the Whigs. Having allied himself with that party, he entered into the political struggles with abandon, was one of the most active members of the "Green Ribbon Club," and, as chief writer for Shaftesbury, followed that powerful leader's fortunes until his downfall and flight to Holland. Left then without financial support, and seeing in the increasing power of the Tories certain victory, he decided to try his fortunes with them. Professing a change of heart, he published his *Narrative* (1683), in which he gave reasons for his recantation, and ridiculed the Popish Plot; he followed this with *A Supplement to the Narrative* (1683),[6] and tried to gain further favor by a poem on the unscrupulous Jefferies, entitled *A Panegyrick on the Loyal and Honourable Sir George Jefferies Lord Chief Justice of England,* in which there is the most extravagant praise of this brutal justice, whom the poet had dubbed "Shimei" in his *Absalom Senior,* and whom he must, in his heart, have

[1] In this sheet the play is referred to as *The Emperor of Morocco.*

[2] Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies,* 315.

[3] Malone, *The Prose Works of John Dryden,* I, 165.

[4] Shadwell says, "foul Otway fought him." *Vide Tory Poets.*

[5] *The True Blue Protestant Poet* states that Settle was a coward and refused to fight.

[6] For a full discussion of all controversial tracts, see "Quarrels and Controversies."

thoroughly despised. Settle found the Tories rather slow to reward his efforts.[1] But he was now dependent upon them for support, and, having allowed policy to become the motive in his actions, was willing to join the most rabid party supporters in heartless attacks on Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. Following Lord Russell's execution for alleged treason, there was printed, at the direction of Lady Russell, a sheet entitled *The Speech of the late Lord Russell to the Sheriffs; together with the paper delivered by Him to them, at the Place of Execution, on July 21, 1683.* This denied the guilt of the crime for which he had been put to death, and had, very probably, the effect of turning public opinion against those responsible for his death. Numerous attacks, inspired no doubt by Tory leaders, were made by zealots upon the truth of Russell's speech. To the list[2] of these tracts, Settle is said[3] to have added *Animadversions on the Last Speech and Confession of the late William Lord Russell*, which appeared anonymously in August.[4] It is but a slight lessening of the poet's offense against good taste to say that his attack was the least severe and repulsive of all the tracts. To this outrage the poet added another of identical nature, following the execution of Sidney in December. This is entitled *Some Animadversions on the Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs, On Friday December the 7th, 1683, By Algernon Sidney, Esq.; Before he was Executed.*[5]

The Uncle's Death

The poet's uncle and benefactor, Elkanah Settle of Hemel Hempstead, died in 1683.[6] Although the old man had furnished money for the poet's education and had supplied large sums to him during his years of reckless expenditure when court favor and popular applause had elevated him to a place of fame, he accumulated considerable wealth, and left his estate to his nephew.[7] The money thus left the poet was very probably used up during the period of his Tory activity, for he does not seem to have received any pay for his work for that party,[8] and was, by 1691, apparently without any income.[9]

[1] Cf. "A Letter to *Mr.* Settle," *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 640; and North, *Examen*, 96.

[2] The principal tracts preserved are: *An Antidote against Poison . . . . ; Some Succinct Remarks on the Speech . . . . ; Considerations upon a Printed Sheet Entitled the Speech. . . . .*

[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxon.*, IV, 688. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] Published also anonymously. Wood attributes it to Settle.

[6] The Parish Register at Hemel Hempstead records the burial of "Ellcana Settle" on "November 23, 1683."

[7] *Vide* the will at Somerset House, London.

[8] Most biographers of Settle; see especially the *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 640.

[9] *Vide* Dedication of *Distress'd Innocence* (1691).

The next year, 1684, Settle's *Present State of England* was published, while in 1685, on the succession of James II to the throne, the poet's Tory enthusiasm may be said to have reached its highest when he wrote *An Heroick Poem on the Coronation of . . . . James II*, and entered the army at Hounslow Heath. He probably never saw any active service.

Later Work for the Tories

No work is known[1] to have been written by the poet from 1685 until 1688. Henry Care's *Pacquet of Advice from Rome*, formerly a violent anti-papist publication, was issued during James II's reign in support of the government under the title of *Public Occurrences Truly Stated.* When the editor died in 1688, Settle prepared the weekly numbers[2] and conducted the enterprise from Tuesday, August 7, to Tuesday, October 2. By this time the Revolution had assumed such proportions that the paper was "prohibited to please the people, the prince of Orange being then about to make his expedition into England."[3] Settle tried further to aid the king's now rapidly declining cause by "editing" the *Insignia Bataviae: or the Dutch Trophies display'd*, an attack upon the Dutch, which was published also in 1688.

Settle had again labored in a losing cause, for, on February 13, 1689, the throne, which had been declared vacant in January, was accepted by William and Mary, and the Tory party had lost control. Defeated, but apparently not greatly discouraged by the change of party control, the poet allowed policy to shape his allegiance a third time, and celebrated the occasion by writing *A View of the Times. With Britain's Address to the Prince of Orange* (1689). Settle's verses to Henry Higden on the latter's translation of the tenth satire of Juvenal are said to have been published this year (1689) with the *Essay on the Tenth Satire of Juvenal.*[4]

A Poem to the Prince of Orange

[1] The *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco Revised* was reprinted in 1687 as *Reflections on Several of Mr. Dryden's Plays*, the two are identical except the title-pages. *The Third Advice to A Painter How to Draw the Effigies of the Whore of Rome* (1687) has been attributed to Settle. See a discussion under the list of "Doubtful Works," below, p. 131.

[2] For a discussion of Settle's work on these numbers, see below, p. 72.

[3] Wood, *op. cit.*, IV, 689.

[4] The British Museum Catalogue gives 1687 as the date of publication, but Oldys, in a manuscript note in his edition of Langbaine, preserved in the British Museum as "C. 28. g. 1," gives the date 1689. The copy of Higden's work in the British Museum has no date.

V. RETURN TO THE STAGE

Settle's political efforts had practically ceased with the coming of William and Mary to the throne. He wrote some poems afterward on events and issues of national import, but none of a strictly polemical nature. In 1691, disgusted with his experiences in politics, poorly rewarded for political work, with little or nothing left of the property which he received from his uncle, thoroughly hated by many men of both parties, and perhaps much broken in spirit, he returned to the stage, and produced his *Distress'd Innocence: or, the Princess of Persia*, in the Dedication of which he gives a bit of personal history, covering the ten years of his principal political activities:

"Distress'd Innocence: or, the Princess of Persia"

> But after all this Encouragement, with what shame must I look back on my long Ten Years' silence. Alas, I was grown weary of my little Talent in Innocent *Dramaticks*, and forsooth must be rambling into *Politicks:* And much I have got by't, for, I thank 'em, they have undone me. And truly when impertinent Busy Fools in my little post, in the name of Frenzy must aspire to State-Champions, though their Pens are drawn even on the Right side, they deserve no better Fate.
>
> And now, after all my repented Follies, if an Unhappy Stray into Forbidden Grounds . . . . may be permitted to return to his Native Province, I am resolved to quit all pretensions to State-Craft, and honestly sculk in to a Corner of the Stage, and there die contented.

As the author acknowledges in the Dedication, he was aided by Betterton and Mountfort in the production of *Distress'd Innocence*, which was "received with great applause."[1] It should be remarked in passing that Betterton seems to have remained a friend to Settle through all the various vicissitudes of the latter's checkered career. His aid at this time must have been a source of as great comfort to the dejected poet as it was a mark of the actor's beneficent and magnanimous disposition.

Before 1681[2] Settle had aspired "to the honour of being City Poet,"

[1] *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 167. Cf. also Langbaine, *op. cit.* (1691), Appendix.

[2] A manuscript note in Oldys' copy of Langbaine ("C. 28. g. 1." in the British Museum) reads: "See in Alex[r] Oldys's *Fair Extravagant, or Humorous Bride*, a Novel, 12°, 1682 what he says of Settle's being made city Poet." No copy of this novel could be found, but the *Term Catalogues* show that it was licensed in 1681. The author of *Reflexions upon a Late Pamphlet* (1683) says: "He long since was said to aspire to the honour of being City Poet; but now his Ambition puts him upon Affairs of State. . . . ."

a position which he did secure when Taubman left it vacant.[1] To this place his reputation as a "contriver of machinery," and his experience in devising and managing the most elaborate pope-burning pageants on record, had much to do, no doubt, in recommending him. The year 1691 is the date usually assigned for his appointment, because the first city pageants known to have been written by the poet bear the date of 1691, and because Taubman prepared them for about five years prior to 1689.[2]

City Poet

The city poet was usually chosen to prepare the pageants for the lord mayor's show, and whatever money he received was given by the company which employed him—the company of which the lord mayor-elect was a member. It is stated by several biographers[3] that the poet received a yearly pension from the City, and by one writer that this amount was £6,[4] but no record has been found to justify such an opinion. The records of the City of London contain nothing on the subject, and the chamberlain's accounts for the period have been destroyed by fire. There is little likelihood that the Corporation of the City of London ever paid anything to the city poet or bore any part of the expense of the lord mayors' shows.[5] The amounts which the poets received for their work on the pageants seem to have varied greatly.[6] Much depended, no doubt, on how well the company was pleased with the pageants, and on the financial ability and generosity of the new lord mayor. But the sums were, no doubt, small enough, for Settle was but poorly rewarded for his efforts:

> Poets as stupid are as other men;
> They dully will the Muse's chariot draw,
> As, for example, brother Elkanah,
> Who has long time from rules of reason swerv'd
> And underneath his glorious pageants starv'd.[7]

[1] Of this event Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, 109, says: "Whether Taubman was dead, or turned out of his post cannot be ascertained, as no record of his career has been narrated."

[2] There is no record of any show for 1690.

[3] *Vide* especially Cibber, *Lives of the Poets*, III, 352; *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 641.

[4] *Vide* Cyril Davenport's article in *The Connoisseur*, VI, 161.

[5] The accounts of the Grocers' Company show apparently the entire expenses for the show in 1692, as do also the accounts of the Vintners' Company for that of 1702. For these itemized accounts, see below, pp. 122, 125.

[6] In 1692 Settle received £2:3:6; in 1702, £11:1:6. Cf. accounts below, pp. 122, 125.

[7] Fairholt, *op. cit.*, 121, 122 and n.

Settle, however, made some capital out of his position by advertising himself as "City Poet," a title which appeared on the title-page of many of his works.

How long the poet continued to hold the office is a question that cannot be answered with absolute certainty. He wrote no pageants after 1708, though he was spoken of by a contemporary as "City Poet" in 1717;[1] Brydges[2] says the office was discontinued in 1722. The truth is, doubtless, that, since the position was never officially recognized by the Corporation of the City of London, it was simply allowed to lapse with its last occupant in 1724.

No work is recorded as having been done by the poet in 1692, except his lord mayor's pageant, *The Triumphs of London*, for the Grocers' Company, but the writer thinks that there is sufficient proof[3] to attribute to Settle a play which had been composed, partially at least, some years before. This work, called *The Fairy Queen: An Opera*, was published in this year anonymously and "Represented at the Queens-Theatre By Their Majesties Servants."[4] The piece was successful from the spectators' point of view but not so from the company's, for "The Court and Town were wonderfully satisfy'd with it; but the expenses in setting it out being so great, the Company got very little by it."[5]

"The Fairy Queen," 1692

In 1693 the poet prepared the pageants called *The Triumphs of London*, for the entertainment of the new lord mayor, Sir William Ashurst of the Merchant-Taylors' Company, and wrote a satirical play on the members of the Athenian Society,[6] who seem to have incurred Settle's ill-will. The comedy, which contained but three acts and which seems never to have been intended for presentation on the stage, was called *The New Athenian Comedy, Containing the Politicks, Œconomicks, Tacticks, Crypticks . . . . of that most Learned Society.*[7]

Work in 1693

Besides devising the pageants[8] for the lord mayor's show in 1694, the poet wrote his tragedy, *The Ambitious Slave, or A Generous Revenge*, and a prose piece[9] dedicated to Gabriel Balam, Esq. There is no record of *The Ambitious Slave* in the *Term Catalogues*, nor is it mentioned by Genest or Downes, but the title-page

"The Ambitious Slave," 1694

[1] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer.*

[2] *Restituta*, II, 172.

[3] For a discussion, see below, pp. 95, 96.

[4] From the title-page.

[5] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 57.

[6] For a brief account, see below, p. 97.

[7] For the full title, see below, p. 97, n.

[8] Again called *The Triumphs of London.*

[9] Entitled, *The Compleat Memoirs of the Life of that Notorious Impostor Will Morrell, alias Bowyer, alias Wickham, &c., who died at Mr. Cullen's the Bakers in the Strand, Jan. 3. 169$\frac{1}{2}$, With Considerable Additions never before Published.*"

has "Acted at the Theatre Royal," and *The Muses' Mercury* records that it "met with but ill success."[1]

The next year Settle prepared the pageants[2] for the lord mayor's show, composed a funeral poem, called *Sacellum Apollinare*, to the memory of George, marquis of Halifax, and adapted Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*. As *Philaster: or, Love lies a bleeding, A Tragi-Comedy* the piece was acted at the Theatre Royal with but little success, according to the *Biographia Dramatica*, though it seems to have been reprinted in 1696–97.[3]

"Philaster," 1695

The poet seems to have published nothing in 1696; the lord mayor's show was intermitted this year, and Settle was busy[4] on the production of another opera, *The World in the Moon*, which was printed in June, 1697. In this play the author thought that he had the most elaborate dramatic production ever given on an English stage,[5] and claimed great originality for his scenes. One interesting thing in connection with the play is the information it gives concerning the attitude at the time toward French material which had been so freely borrowed by Restoration dramatists generally. The author asserts that he had been able to free himself from French influence, and that he was setting a new style which was to become the fashion for his successors.[6]

"The World in the Moon," 1697

[1] The *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 23, preserves the record.

[2] Called *The Triumphs of London.*

[3] The *Term Catalogues* give notice of an edition in 1696.

[4] In the Dedication he says: "If Industry, Labour and Expence can deserve. . . . ."

[5] The Dedication: "So Great an Undertaking, I am sure, has never been on an English Stage: and I am not Traveller sufficient to make Foreign Comparisons."

[6] The Dedication runs thus: "As to the Entertainment itself, I hope I shall not be vain to say that the Model of the Scenes of this Play, are something of an Original: I am sure I have removed a long Heap of Rubbish, and thrown away all our old *French* Lumber, our Clouds of Clouts, and set the Theatrical Paintings at a much fairer Light. And therefore am a humble Suppliant to the Generous Audience, for some Grains of Mercy.

"For I dare confidently averr, the Prospect of this Stage will put all the old Rags out of Countenance: So I hope the Town will graciously please to pardon the undeserving Scribbler, for some small Merit in the Projector. Otherwise it would be a little too hard to give me the Fate with my Play, as *Middleton* had with his Pipes, viz. By introducing that Project, as may Enrich my Successors; and at the same time Starve my Self.

"However, my Doom be what it will, yet still I shall carry this Pride along with me, That I have endeavor'd to Please, in spreading so Gay a Table."

A further quotation from the Epilogue:

Settle had not worked in vain; the play was "acted with great applause,"[1] and a second edition was advertised for sale in the *Post-Boy* July 22–24, within a month after it was first printed.[2] It is not without interest to note here that the poet possessed, perhaps, the most businesslike turn of mind, from a modern point of view, of any literary worker of his age. This opinion is substantiated by a manuscript note by J. Haslewood in his copy of Langbaine,[3] which asserts that "*The Sham Lawyer* and *The World in the Moon* were oftener advertised in 1696–7 than any others." Further confirmation of this view is contained in an article in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1813, which quotes from Settle's advertisements of his play:

> Elkanah Settle, whose versatile genius supplied either opera, city pageant or Bartholomew-fair droll, was probably the first dramatic writer that sought to extend and support his popularity through the aid of a newspaper; and certainly the following paragraph, from the *Post-Boy*, is one of the earliest, if not the first, dramatic puff which appeared through the medium of such a circulation; it was inserted a few days before the performance of *The World in the Moon*. "Great preparations are making for a new Opera, in the play-house in *Dorset Garden*, of which there is great expectation, the scenes being several new sets, and of a moddel different from all that have been used in any theatre whatever, being twice as high as any of their former scenes; and the whole decorations of the stage not only infinitely beyond all the Operas ever yet performed in *England*, but also by the acknowledgment of several gentlemen that have travell'd abroad, much exceeding all that has been seen on any of the Foreign stages."[4]

One would think that a writer so clever and ingenious would have had better success. But he was never able to escape, however much he tried, the unpopularity and enmity which he had incurred from his controversies and quarrels in former years. Condemnation had set its seal upon him, and, no matter how great a single success he achieved, the public seems ever to have reminded itself that Settle was but to be generally contemned.

> But Pax upon 'em, 'tis all home-spun Cloth;
> All from an English Web, and English Growth.
> But if we'd let it make a costly Dance
> To Paris, and bring home some Scenes from France,
> I'm sure 'twould take: For you, Gadzooks, are civil;
> And wish them well, that wish you at the Devil.

[1] *Post-Boy*, July 13–15, 1699.

[2] Printed in June.

[3] Preserved in the British Museum as "C. 45. d. 16."

[4] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1813), LXXXIII, Pt. II, 220–21.

There were no public celebrations of Lord Mayor's Day from 1695 to 1698; in the latter year Settle seems to have made great efforts to revive interest in this ceremony. A splendid show was prepared by the poet and significantly called *Glory's Resurrection*. The pageants were elaborately designed, and the printed copies containing the dedications, directions, speeches, and songs were adorned with "sculptures" of the various floats.[1] From an account in *The London Gazette* of October 31, one would judge that the king was present and that all efforts had combined to make the occasion a notable one.

Revival of the Lord Mayor's Show, 1698

The success of the show in 1698 revived successfully the custom of an annual display on Lord Mayor's Day, and Settle was employed again in 1699 to write *The Triumphs of London* for the Haberdashers' Company. This year also marks the beginning of the frequent appearance of the eulogistic poems. The poet had produced no play since 1697, his city pageants had paid him but poorly, so that he was sadly in need of money.[2] He had probably found his first presentation poems well received, and turned now to the regular production of them as a means of support. Many of these pieces were doubtless productive of little or no reward, but some must have found more favorable receptions. How well such literary work was rewarded generally, it is difficult to say. Flatman received from the duke of Ormond a ring "worth 100 *l.* as a reward"[3] for his poem on the death of the earl of Ossory (1681), but this was in all probability an unusually large amount. Settle never received any such pay, if the following reference to the poet contains even a partial truth:

Presentation Poems, 1699

> Elkanah Settle lampooned in Heraclitus Ridens of Aug. 24, 1703, upon the supposed death of the Elector of Bavaria, that he had been writing his Elegy these three weeks, and unless some great man or other dies very suddenly, to help him off with it, 'tis like to stick upon his hands, and boil'd beef and cabbage must be his every days entertainment.[4]

[1] For an account of the pageants and reproductions of the cuts, see below, p. 35.

[2] *The Session of the Poets held at the foot of Parnassus Hill, July 9, 1696*, an octavo pamphlet, makes it clear that Settle was then in financial straits. The statement is an exaggeration, no doubt, but it contains much truth: ". . . . that he writes drolls for Bartholomew Fair, and love letters for maid servants, ballads for Pye Corner and London Bridge, that he will write an epithalamium on any married person to get half-a-crown; likewise dedicated a book to half-a-dozen persons."—Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, 122 ff.

[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxon.*, IV, 245.

[4] Manuscript note in a copy of Langbaine in the British Museum (press mark "C. 45. d. 16").

Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that he was ever in comfortable circumstances from 1691 to the year of his entrance into the Charterhouse. The poem recorded for the year 1699 was written on the death of Sir Josiah Child, and called *Augusta Lacrimans.*

In 1700 Settle prepared the pageants for the Fishmongers' Company, and wrote the personal poems *Carmen Natalitium, An Heroic Poem* to the duke of Gloucester, *Threnodium Britannicum,* a funeral poem to the memory of the duke of Gloucester, and *Sacellum Honoris, A Congratulatory Poem to the Marquis of Tavistock, on his Happy Return from Travel.*

The next year, an act of Parliament confirming the foundation of the Cotton Library at Westminster evoked his *Minerva Triumphans,* copies of which were sent to many persons particularly interested and likely to reward the author. Besides this poem and *The Triumphs of London* for the inauguration of Sir William Gore as lord mayor, there are recorded for this year *The Scaffold lately executed in Westminster Hall,* and a play, *The Virgin Prophetess.* This opera, which was acted at the Theatre Royal, was licensed at Easter Term and printed this year (1701). No mention is made of its success, but since the "musical entertainments" were printed and sold separately, and the whole piece reprinted in 1702[1] and later abridged and acted with great success at Bartholomew and Southwark fairs, it may be inferred that it had no unfavorable reception.

Besides *The Triumphs of London* for the Vintners' Company, the poet wrote in 1702 *Carmen Irenicum, The Happy Union of the Two East India Companies, Eusebia Triumphans, The Hannover Succession to the Imperial Crown of England,*[2] and the laudatory poem, *Spes Hunsdoniana,* on the occasion of the birthday of Matthew Bluck, heir to Hunsdon Hall, near Hemel Hempstead.

In 1703 Settle seems to have done nothing[3] but publish a new edition of *Eusebia Triumphans,* of which numerous copies were specially bound for presentation; during the next year there are no works recorded for him except another edition of *Eusebia Triumphans* and two funeral poems, *A Funeral Tear,* on the occasion of the death of the earl of Burlington, and *Augusta Lacrimans,* to the memory of Sir Thomas Crisp.

Little was written in 1705. There was a fourth edition of *Eusebia Triumphans* and a congratulatory poem in manuscript called *Augusta Triumphans,* written on the occasion of Sir Thomas Rawlinson's elevation

[1] As *Cassandra: or, The Virgin Prophetess.*

[2] Pope refers to this piece in his *To the Author of a Poem Entitled "Successio."*

[3] No pageants were produced for the lord mayor's show from 1702 to 1708.

to the office of lord mayor.[1] This poem, which seems never to have been printed, was apparently prized by its subject, and carefully preserved along with the author's letter which accompanied it.[2]

In 1706 "the High Tories raised the cry of 'The Church in danger'; but a Whig majority was returned to Parliament, and Marlborough and Godolphin entered into friendly communication with the Whig leaders."[3] This victory the poet celebrated in a privately printed poem called *Fears and Dangers, Fairly Display'd: Being a New Memorial of the Church of England.* In it he placed a dedication "To the Lords and Commons in Parliament . . . . ," and one to the queen, hoping to obtain rewards from several sources. The piece was well received by the Whigs and by the queen also, as may be inferred from a manuscript note on the title-page of a copy of the work preserved among the Rawlinson manuscripts in the Bodleian.[4] The only other work known to have been done this year is a congratulatory poem on "the happy marriage of the Hon. Saml. Barker, Esq.," called *Thalia Triumphans.* This is the first of the wedding-poems bearing this title—four others are known to have been written. All except this one are extant, and are more elaborately bound than any other of his poems. This copy may still be in existence in some private collection; when it is found it will probably add another example of these very remarkable bindings.[5]

The year 1707 was a busy one for the poet. The victories of Marlborough abroad gave Settle an excellent opportunity of writing a poem on a popular subject, and his *Augusta Triumphans, Ramilly and Turin, or a Hymn to Victory* was composed "on the occasion of the Trophies being fixed in Guild Hall." The splendid successes of English soldiers abroad were perhaps excelled by that of the statesmen at home,[6] for this year witnessed the union of England and Scotland, an event which the poet celebrated in his *Carmen Irenicum . . . . or, The Union of the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain.* One may with good reason[7] suppose

[1] Settle had hoped that the Vintners' Company, of which Rawlinson was a member, would revive the pageants this year (see his letter below, p. 46); when they did not, the poet wrote this poem.

[2] For an account of the poem and the letter, see below, pp. 45, 46.

[3] Gardiner, *A Student's History of England* (1897), III, 684.

[4] *Vide* MS "Rawlinson, J. 4°3" (fol. 407 ff.).

[5] For an account of the printing and binding of these poems, see below, pp. 109, 115, n. 5.

[6] Cf. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, 687.

[7] Four copies of the poem, specially bound for presentation, are preserved in the British Museum, one at Harvard, and one at the University of Chicago; I think the Bodleian copy has a special binding.

that this work enabled the author to place a considerable number of specially bound copies with hope of a fair reward. The two funeral poems for this year are *Virtuti Sacellum*, "to the memory of Sir Robert Clayton," and *Honori Sacellum*, "to the memory of William, Duke of Devonshire." The poet's droll *The Siege of Troy* was presented the first time at Bartholomew Fair in 1707, and published the same year.

Bartholomew Fair

Settle's connection with Bartholomew Fair has been mentioned by almost everyone who has written anything concerning him, though no definite account of his relation to this annual show has been given. The usual assumption is that he did not begin to write drolls until after the Revolution,[1] but there can be little doubt that he began much earlier. The author of a pamphlet entitled *Reflexions upon a Late Pamphlet* (1683) says, "A Dedication to a *Pope Joan* or a *Fairy Queen* at a Bartholomew Fair bring in but rare and uncertain Profit," and Dryden, in *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise*, refers to the poet as a Bartholomew-Fair writer.[2] In 1696 the author of the pamphlet entitled *The Session of the Poets held at the foot of Parnassus Hill, July 9, 1696*, declares that "he writes drolls for Bartholomew Fair." These statements make it evident that the poet had written for the Fair before 1683, and that he was composing drolls in 1696. The preface "To the Reader" in the editions of *The Siege of Troy* for 1715 and 1716 asserts that this droll was presented at Bartholomew Fair in 1707, and at Southwark Fair in 1715 and 1716, and that the poet had been working for Mrs. Mynn during these years. This information seems to be in accord with the statement that Settle had received "an annual salary from Mrs. Mynn and her daughter, Mrs. Leigh, for writing Drolls for Bartholomew and Southwark Fairs."[3] How long after 1716 Settle wrote for the fairs is not known, but *The Siege of Troy* was published again in 1718, and there is a probability that the old writer continued to have some interest in the shows until his death. Even after he went to the Charterhouse, it was no doubt a diversion during the year for him to plan some scenic novelty for Bartholomew Fair, which opened its booths in sight of the institution whose charity made possible the comfort of the old poet's last years. It was during his latter years that he "acted a dragon, enclosed in a case of green leather of his own invention,"[4] in a droll called *St. George for England*, which was presented at Mrs.

[1] Cf. the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] *The . . . . Works of John Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, XII, 206.

[3] Cf. Dodsley, *Theatrical Records*, 69; Cibber, *Lives of the Poets*, III, 353; *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 640.

[4] *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 640.

Mynn's booth in Bartholomew Fair.[1] This incident was ridiculed by Dr. Young[2] and by Pope.[3]

Much has been said in condemnation of the poet for having had any connection with Bartholomew Fair. However just this condemnation may be, he was not the only man who was tempted by the opportunities which the Fair offered to men of talent for making money. The famous comedian Doggett, who "acted leading comic parts in the same cast with Leigh or Betterton" and was "joint manager of Drury Lane,"[4] played there regularly as early as 1699, and "among the actors of Drury Lane there was always at this time a strong body detached for performance at the Fair, where there was more money to be earned than in the theatre."[5] Wilks, Cibber, Mrs. Cibber, Mrs. Pritchard, Fielding, Mills, and Oates are known to have been performers at Smithfield.[6] After mentioning the fact that many actors of reputation performed parts in drolls at fair-time, Morley says:

> These considerations greatly lessen our sense of the fall experienced by Elkanah Settle, when he accepted a salary from Mrs. Mynn. . . . . His was a day when Bartholomew Fair was near the flood-tide of its fame as a Peru for players, in which very soon we shall find cleverer men than himself looking for gold. The pity in his case is, not that he should have played the Dragon in the Fair, but that he should have done so when his hairs were gray.[7]

Lord Mayor's Day had not been celebrated since 1702, and Settle had therefore produced no pageants. But in 1708 the Goldsmiths' Company decided to revive the spectacular feature of the occasion, and engaged the

[1] *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 640. I cannot say whether the circumstance occurred before or after his entrance into the Charterhouse, but I believe that it was after he had been admitted. Cf. Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 292, and Scott, *Life of Dryden*.

[2] *Epistle to Mr. Pope:*

> Poor Elkanah, all other changes past,
> For bread in Smithfield dragons hiss'd at last,
> Spit streams of fire to make the butchers gape,
> And found his manners suited to his shape.

[3] *The Dunciad*, Book III, ll. 283–88:

> Tho' long my Party built on me their hopes,
> For writing Pamphlets, and for roasting Popes;
> Yet lo! in me what authors have to brag on!
> Reduc'd at last to hiss in my own dragon.
> Avert it, Heaven! that thou, my Cibber, e'er
> Should'st wag a serpent-tail in Smithfield fair!

[4] Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 268, 283. [5] *Ibid.*, 281.

[6] *Vide* [Reed], *Notitia Dramatica*, I, 199; and "Actors' Names" in *The Siege of Troy*.

[7] Morley, *op. cit.*, 292.

city poet to prepare the pageants which were again called *The Triumphs of London*. These pageants, which "were never represented, on account of the death of Prince George of Denmark, two days before, ..."[1] marked the last attempt to revive the splendor of these ancient shows.[2] Besides the pageants, Settle wrote this year three funeral poems, *Threnodium Apollinare, to the Memory of Henry Hare*, *Threnodium Apollinare, to the Memory of Dr. Edward Tyson*, and *Memoriae Fraganti, to the Memory of the Lady Viscountess Fitzharding*. He issued also a second edition of *The Siege of Troy* and a new edition of *Carmen Irenicum* for presentation purposes, and wrote a congratulatory poem to the duke of Newcastle "on the happy recovery of the Lady Henrietta Holles." This last piece was called *Musa Triumphans*.

The next year (1709) appeared the three funeral poems, *Augusta Lacrymans*, written on the death of Sir Charles Thorald, *Honori Sacellum*, "to the memory of Henry Thynne, Esq.," and *Virtuti Sacellum*, on the death of Sir John Buckworth. Settle issued this year also a new edition of his *Eusebia Triumphans*.

There is but one poem that is known to have been written by the poet in 1710. This is *Thalia Lacrimans*, composed on the death of Lytton Lytton. There is, however, another poem written this year which, though attributed both to Settle and Prior, was probably written by the former poet. The piece is entitled *Consolation to Mira Mourning*.[3]

Settle published no plays from the year 1701, when his *Virgin Prophetess* appeared, until 1711, though it seems from his statement in the Preface to *The City-Ramble* that he had written some dramatic pieces during this time which had not been accepted and are, therefore, lost. Booth had suggested to the poet the writing of a play based on Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *The Coxcomb;* the old playwright "*took the Hint*," as he says, and produced in 1711 his comedy, *The City-Ramble: or, A Play-House Wedding*. The piece was written in Silence and Secrecy and was to be presented anonymously, but the secret "took air," and, in consequence of the old man's unpopularity, it was not acted until summer, when it was played three[4] nights at Drury Lane. With what success the

"City-Ramble"

[1] *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, 641.

[2] Cf. Pope, *The Dunciad*, Book I, ll. 87–90:

> Now Night descending, the proud scene was o'er,
> But liv'd in Settle's numbers one day more.

[3] For a discussion of the authorship of this rare folio poem, see below, p. 131, n.

[4] *Notitia Dramatica*, I, 58.

comedy was received one may judge from the author's statement in the preface "To the Reader:"

> And now to give a short Narrative of this Play's untimely start into the World, (for such I may justly call it). Having now by me some finish'd pieces that have lain long dead upon my Hands, through my Exclusion from the Stage: I resolved to write this with that Silence and Secrecy, as to be able to surmount all Opposition, by bringing it into Light by an adopted Father's Hand. But so it hapned, that the Secret took Air, insomuch that hopeless of stemming the common Torrent against me, I was reduced to the Necessity of bringing it in in the long Vacation, and consequently with a very narrow Expectation of Profit from the Product of so barren a Season. And as the then Emptiness of Town cou'd give it but a few, though those all friendly Auditors, I sit down contented with the general Reception it has met, whatever Slenderer Feast it has otherwise made me.

Besides giving the history of the play, this and the Epilogue show the author's consciousness of his own unpopularity and the persistent determination of his enemies to thwart his every effort at success. During this year the poet issued a privately printed edition of *Eusebia Triumphans* of which specially bound copies were presented to persons of honor and rank; he wrote also a *Pindarick Poem on the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, in which the queen was eulogized, and *Augusta Triumphans, To the Lieutenancy of the Honourable City of London*. The latter is a very interesting specimen of the poet's presentation poems, since it shows his custom of having some of them printed with a blank space on the dedicatory page in which the name of anyone to whom he wished to present a copy might be worked in by hand, as was done in the case of the copy of this work preserved in the Guildhall.

In 1712 four funeral poems were produced: *Honori Sacellum, to the Memory of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Coventry; Augusta Lacrimans, to the Memory of the Honoured Charles Baynton Esq.; Augusta Lacrimans, to the Memory of the Honourable Sir Henry Furnesse Kt. and Baronet;* and *Threnodia Apollinaris, to the Memory of Dr. Martin Lister, Late Physician to Her Majesty*. All of these were privately printed, and copies of all except the last are known to have been specially bound in morocco with coats-of-arms stamped in gold on the covers.

The treaty of Utrecht gave the poet an excellent subject for a popular poem in 1713, and his *Irene Triumphans* celebrates the terms of peace. This work was privately printed in two separate editions, one with an address to the duke D'Aumont, the French ambassador, the other dedicated to "the Peace-Makers"; specially bound copies were no doubt sent to all persons directly concerned in the consummation of the treaty. The other

work produced this year is *Memoriae Fraganti, A Funeral Poem to The Memory of the Honourable L^dy Margaret Woolfe.*

In 1714 were written *Thalia Lacrimans, a Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Baptist Earl of Gainsborough, Augusta Lacrimans, a funeral poem to the Memory of Sir William Hodges,* and *Virtuti Sacellum, a Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Hedges.* Besides these three there are also mentioned[1] *Augusta Triumphans, a Congratulatory Poem to the Lieutenancy of the Honourable City of London,* and the *Poem on the Marriage of Lord Dunkellin.*

The notable attempt of "the Old Pretender" to seize the throne in the latter part of the year 1715 intensified the struggle between the Whigs and Tories for government leadership, and threatened the nation with civil war. It was during these exciting scenes—just after the victory of the government forces under Argyle—that Settle sought to aid the Whig cause by the publication of the *Rebellion Display'd: or, Our Present Distractions Set forth in Their True Light.* The old poet's heart was in this work which shows genuine loyalty and some poetic power. Settle issued also this year an enlarged edition of *Eusebia Triumphans,* and wrote *Thalia Triumphans, To the Worthy Mr. William Westfield on His Happy Marriage.* The copy of this poem preserved in the British Museum is the earliest extant example of the author's elaborately bound wedding-poems.

During the next year little work seems to have been done by the poet; there is no record of any productions except two poems—one for a funeral, the other for a wedding. No copies are known to be extant. The first is entitled *Augusta Lacrimans, to the Memory of the honour'd Caesar Chambrelan (?), Esq.;* the second is recorded[2] as *Poems on the Marriage of Mr. T. Ironmonger.*

In 1717 the poet produced a threnody on the death of "the Honoured Clement Pettit, Esq.," which was called *Honori Sacellum,* and wrote *The Eucharist,* a somewhat pretentious poem on the sacrament. Specially bound copies of both these poems bearing coats-of-arms are still preserved. A copy of the last-named piece was no doubt bound for the earl of Oxford, for there is extant a letter of the author's which must have accompanied such a presentation copy. In addition to these two poems, which are known to be the work of Settle, there are two others, "Printed for the Author" anonymously this year, which have been attributed to the poet, and which bear every evidence of being his work. These are entitled *A Poem on the Birth-Day Of his most Sacred Majesty King George,* and *A Poem on the Birth-Day Of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales.*

[1] See below, p. 117. [2] See below, p. 119.

"The Lady's Triumph," 1718

The year 1718 marks the appearance of the poet's last published play, and his last effort to have one of his dramatic productions presented on the stage. From *The Lady's Triumph: A Comi-Dramatic Opera* he had hope of obtaining enough to lighten the burdens of life which must now have borne heavily upon him. The managers of the theater were doubtless anxious to aid him, but to announce a play by Settle was only to arouse a storm of opposition from his enemies who had made the success of his *City-Ramble* very poor. A plan was therefore consummated whereby the opera was presented by subscription at the theater in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields in June, 1718. The poet's reflections on his past defeats and his present unpopularity, together with the genuine gratitude he felt to those who had aided the enterprise, are so definitely expressed in the Prologue to the piece that much of it is here reproduced:

PROLOGUE

SPOKEN TO THE SUBSCRIBERS.

As when some Hero in a Land opprest,
Stands up, resolv'd to succour the Distrest,
The Crowd, that long have felt a Tyrant's Pow'r
And wish'd, and waited, for the saving Hour,
With Transport round their brave Deliv'rer flow,
And in a Tumult pay the Thanks they owe:
So we, that still have labour'd with a Weight,
And bow'd beneath our Rivals stronger Fate,
That still have struggled, yet but faintly rose,
Kept down by Prejudice, and potent Foes,
Now rais'd and rescu'd by your gen'rous Aid,
Long, till the Tribute of our Thanks is paid:
But when we would our Gratitude confess,
Find we want Words that Gratitude t' express.
Favours so great, like sudden Joys, surprize,
Stop short the Tongue, but fill the Heart and Eyes.
Our feeble Utt'rance can no further go,
Than that we all Things to your Bounty owe;
O, may we still deserve your Smiles t' engage,
And you still stand the Guardians of our Stage!
Circles like these, must certainly inspire,
At once the Poet's and the Player's Fire.

The play is interesting as revealing the moral tendency of the drama at the time; the pursuance of moral aims in comedy, emphasized so strongly

by Steele and others, found a place in Settle's play. *The Lady's Triumph* is a moral victory. There is the same intriguing against the wife's honor that is seen in the earlier Restoration comedy, but here the dénouement reveals the wife as the "moral heroine," encouraging the would-be seducer merely to expose and convert him. The poet produced also this year a eulogistic poem called *Augusta Lacrimans* to the memory of Sir James Bateman.

VI. LAST YEARS

The date usually assigned for Settle's admission to the Charterhouse is 1718. The records of the institution from 1710 to about 1740 are missing, and Harry S. Wright, Esq., who has in charge all extant records, informed the writer that there is no information to be found in them concerning the poet. Thus must one follow precedent in giving the same year. A description of this charitable institution is hardly relevant to this sketch but enough should be said to show that the statement made by one writer[1] that it is a "workhouse" is totally incorrect.

Charterhouse

The Charterhouse was once a Carthusian monastery, founded in 1371. After its dissolution by Henry VIII, the property passed into the hands of Lord North, and was later owned by the duke of Norfolk who altered it to suit his needs as a "town-house." It was purchased by Thomas Sutton in 1611 for a school for poor boys and a home for poor men. The school[2] educated and gave to the world Crashaw, Lovelace, Steele, Addison, Blackstone, Wesley, Grote, Thirlwell, Leech, Thackeray. The provision for the "poor brethren" must always have been quite ample. There is a tradition preserved there that the dining-room has never failed to furnish a wholesome bill of fare. Besides giving the pensioners comfortable rooms and substantial food, the institution pays them a sum of money each year, for private use. The affairs of the foundation are administered by a board of control on which some of the most noted men of the nation have served.

After so many years of stress and worry, the old poet might have been expected to rest and live his last years in quiet leisure. But he was never an idler, and the year 1719 found him still busy writing poems which he had printed privately and bound for presentation. His work for this year consisted of two funeral poems, one on the death of Sir Daniel Wray, entitled *Augusta Lacrimans*, the other, *Threnodia Apollinaris*, to the memory of Joseph Addison, whose death occurred on June 17.

In 1720 the poet produced at least two poems for wedding-occasions, both called *Thalia Triumphans*. There is extant a third poem for a similar occasion with the same title. This, though undated, may belong to the work of this year.[3] Settle wrote also a funeral poem this year which

[1] Dibdin, *A Complete History of the Stage*, IV, 187.

[2] The school was moved into Surrey in 1872.

[3] For a discussion of these poems, see below, p. 118.

he called *Virtuti Sacellum, to the Memory of the Right Honourable John Earl of Dundonald.*

In 1721 Settle composed *Honori Sacellum*, a poem on the death of Sir John Shaw, and issued a second edition of his *Eucharist* (1717); the next year he lauded the greatness of the duke of Marlborough, whose death occurred in 1722, in his verses entitled *Threnodia Britannica*, and published also the *Muses Address to the Earl of Burlington.*

Nothing is known to have been published by the poet in 1723. He was probably busy writing his tragedy *The Expulsion of the Danes from Britain*, which the managers of Drury Lane Theatre are said[1] to have been considering for presentation when the playwright died in 1724.

Death and Burial

Settle died at the Charterhouse on February 12, 1724,[2] but where he was buried is not certainly known. A contributor to *The Gentleman's Magazine* gives the following interesting information: "Elkanah Settle, the poet, ... has a mural stone without the south walls of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. . . . ." Three very careful searches made by the writer in November, 1908, failed to reveal any such stone though one of the many lying in the path of hundreds of idlers in the old churchyard may once have borne the poet's name, for very many of them, placed there years after Settle's death, have been so defaced that the names of those who sleep beneath have long since vanished. Since the Parish Register contains no record of Settle's burial, it is fairly certain that he was not buried there in 1724; if a stone was placed to the memory of the poet in this burying-ground, the explanation probably is that his body, buried elsewhere at the time of his death, was moved by friends in later years.[3]

Personal Appearance

Of the poet's personal appearance during his later years there is some record. *The Briton* in its issue of February 19, 1724, mentions Settle's death and thus describes the poet: "As to Mr. Elkanah Settle, he was a Man of tall Stature, red Face, short black Hair, liv'd in the City."

Pope drew a sketch of the poet in his *Dunciad:*[4]

[1] Cf. *Biographia Dramatica*, I, Pt. II, p. 641.

[2] *Historical Register*, IX, 11: "Feb. 12, Dy'd at the Charter-House, Mr. *Elkanah Settle*, well known for his Plays and other Poetical Writings." See also *The Briton*, No. 29, p. 26.

[3] The Charterhouse Register, which contained entries for the year 1724, was destroyed by fire.

[4] *Dunciad*, III, ll. 35–42.

Wond'ring he gazed: When lo! a Sage appears,
By his broad shoulders known, and length of *years*,
Known by the band and suit which Settle wore
(His only suit) for twice three years before:
All as his vest, appear'd the wearer's frame,
Old in new state; another, yet the same.
Bland and familiar as in life, begun
Thus the great Father to the greater Son.

Love and Revenge:

:A:

Tragedy

Acted at the Dukes Theater:

Written by Elkanah Settle
Servant to his Majesty./

1674

(See p. 45)

VII. AUTOGRAPH REMAINS

The only manuscript of any of Settle's plays known to be extant is that of *Love and Revenge*, which is preserved in the British Museum.[1] This has the date of 1674, though the play was not printed until the following year. The manuscript, consisting of ninety-eight pages, is carefully written in Settle's hand, each page corresponding to one of the printed work. A photographic reproduction of the title-page appears opposite.

"Love and Revenge"

The poem to Sir Thomas Rawlinson, *Augusta Triumphans*, which the poet wrote to celebrate Rawlinson's elevation to the office of lord mayor in 1705, is preserved in the Bodleian.[2] Settle wrote this on very large folios with great care, and probably had his binder put in the proper names, for they appear in large capitals, tooled in gold. He had the manuscript bound in black morocco, the covers stamped with the Rawlinson arms, and presented the copy in this form to the lord mayor. This is easily the finest specimen of his autographic remains.

Poem to Rawlinson

Of the poet's letters, seven are known to be extant. Of these there are three in the British Museum, two in the Bodleian, and one in the Guildhall. The seventh, which Mr. Davenport reproduced in his article,[3] could not be located by the writer, as Mr. Davenport has forgotten where it is preserved. Of those in the British Museum two were addressed to Sir Hans Sloane,[4] but bear no date. The first reads as follows:

Letters

> Having taken the Boldness to present
> You with a poem on the Hanover
> Succession, I humbly attend
> Your pleasure, to know how You
> vouchsafe to accept it. I am
> Sr
> Yor most devoted Servt
> E: Settle.

The first poem on the Hanover succession was written in 1702. This letter was written, therefore, after that date.

[1] "Harleian Codex 6903."

[2] "Rawlinson B. 361."

[3] *The Connoisseur* (London), VI, 163.

[4] "Sloane 4060 ff. 282 and 284."

The second letter to Sloane is reproduced opposite this page. This was selected and photographed for reproduction before those in the Bodleian were examined. While it is not written with quite the care that is seen in that to Rawlinson (in the Bodleian), it is an excellent specimen of Settle's style of writing.

Of the other letter in the British Museum nothing is known. It is bound up inside one of Settle's controversial tracts in a large volume of miscellaneous papers. It bears no date, nor does it give a hint as to whom it was addressed. It reads:

Sr

Give me Leave to congratulate
You, to Your new Honour received
from His Majesty, with the humble Presentation
of the Enclosed from
Sr

Yor most obedient
Sert

E: Settle.

Of the letters preserved in the Bodleian, that addressed to Sir Thomas Rawlinson is the longest of those extant and most carefully written. It is not dated, but must have been written in 1705, since it accompanied the congratulatory poem, *Augusta Triumphans*, prepared on the occasion of Rawlinson's elevation to the office of lord mayor in 1705. It is preserved on the inside of the poem[1] which it accompanied.

On the outside is written,

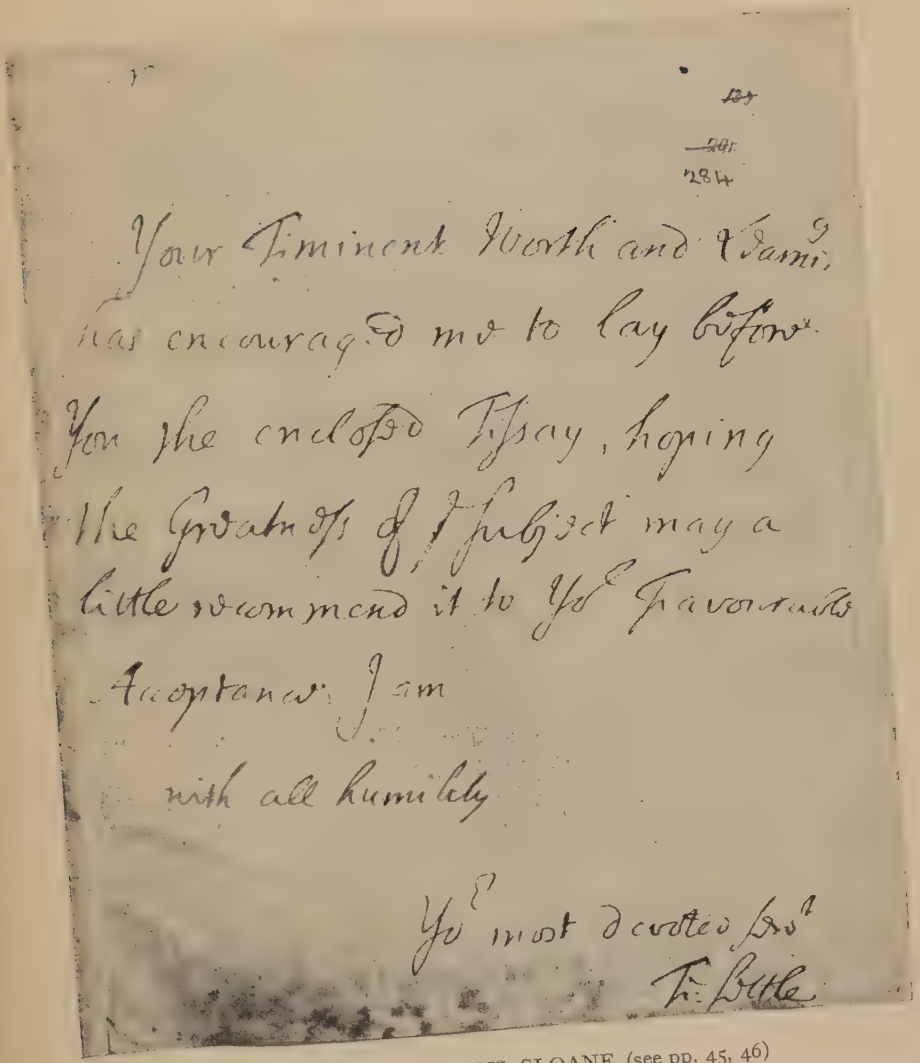
To
The Right Honble
Sr Thomas Rawlinson
Kt
Lord Mayor.

The letter runs thus:

My Lord

After my Attendance at Vintners Hall in hopes
to have received the commands of the Honble Company
to prepare a publick Triumph for Your Lordships, as
being the City Poet, it was my great Unhappiness to
receive this answer that they had no occasion for my
Service as intending no such publick Entertainment.

[1] "Rawlinson B. 361."


Your Eminent Worth and Vertue
has encouraged me to lay before
You the enclosed Essay, hoping
the Greatness of the Subject may a
little recommend it to Yr Favourable
Acceptance. I am
with all humility
Yr most devoted Servt
T. Boyle

LETTER TO SIR HANS SLOANE (see pp. 45, 46)

In this Misfortune give me leave to lay this voluntary
Oblation at Yr Lordps Feet, which most humbly
begs Yr Acceptance, from
Yr Lordships most dutyful Servt
E: SETTLE.

The other letter in the Bodleian[1] bears no date, but it must have been written during the last years of Settle's life, unless he refers to his service as city poet in a very loose sense. "His Majesty" must refer to George I, while the "Argument," "written in some small service," is very probably a reference to *Eusebia Triumphans*. On the back of the letter, written in the bibliophile's[2] hand, is this note: "An original of Elkanah Settle City Laureat." The letter reads:

As I have been near 40 Years The poet
to this Honble City, permit me to address Your
Honour with this small present, being an
Argument, to the best of my Ability, written
in some small service to His Majty, and which
I have publisht for that Desired End. As such
it humbly begs Yor Acceptance from
Sr
Yor most humble and
most Obedient Servt
E: SETTLE.

The letter in the Guildhall is also undated, and bears no name of an addressee. Since it is preserved in the copy of *Virtuti Sacellum* (1714), a funeral poem on the death of Sir Charles Hedges, which bears the arms of Hedges (?) and which it doubtless accompanied, it was very probably written to Sir William Hedges, brother of Sir Charles, the subject of the eulogy. The date would therefore be 1714. It follows:

Sr
The Enclosed to so fragrant a Memory
most humbly begs Your Acceptance.
I had made you an earlier Oblasion had I not waited
Your Arrival in Town, being
Sr
Yor most Obedient
Sert
E: SETTLE.

[1] "Rawlinson MS 862" (fol. 95).

[2] Richard Rawlinson.

The only other letter of which there is any record is quoted by Mr. Davenport:[1]

> To Robert, Earl of Oxford.
>
> My Lord,—Having laid at your Ldp's feet a divine Poem on the holy Eucharist, I humbly pay my Duty to your Ldp. to know how you are pleas'd to accept of it, being
>
> My Lord, your Ldp's most dutyful servant,
>
> E. SETTLE.

Since the *Eucharist* was first published in 1717, the letter was probably written that year.

[1] *The Connoisseur* (London), July 1903, VI, 163.

SECTION I (*Continued*)

B. QUARRELS AND CONTROVERSIES

INCIDENTS AND DETAILS

Introduction

In no period of English political or literary history were plottings and counter-plottings, cabals and collusions of so frequent occurrence, and political leaders so dependent upon literary adherents for support in the consummation of their designs, as in that which extended from the restoration of Charles II to the end of the last Stuart reign. Literature and politics were inseparably connected: party bias colored literature, and literary composition had no small part in determining the destinies of the nation. Most writers of the time entered into its political struggles, while not a few politicians, impelled by the exigencies of party strife and incited by the literary squabbles into which they had been brought by association with literary friends, took a turn at literary effort in order to satirize or lampoon an enemy. In prologue and epilogue, preface and dedication, notes and observations, remarks and reflections, almost all men of any considerable prominence, either on account of political or literary effort, were attacked, so that few writers were able to escape a quarrel or controversy of some kind.

It was natural therefore that Elkanah Settle should have figured in both literary and political controversies. Born in the troublous times of the Civil War, he entered upon his literary career during the reign of the most luxurious of the Stuart kings, at whose court he suddenly became, by the success of his first play, the court favorite. After a period of six or seven years of great popularity, he lost much of his court favor, and became the literary supporter of the great earl of Shaftesbury until the latter's defeat and exile. Seeking favor once more with the party at court, he labored zealously in the Tory cause under Charles and James until the latter's dethronement. He then wrote *Britannia's Welcome to the Protestant Prince of Orange*, eulogized Anne, and celebrated in several works the Hanover succession.

Beginning of Quarrel with Dryden

While still a student at Trinity College, Oxford, Settle produced his *Cambyses*, which was acted at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields with such success as to win for him the favor of the duchess of Monmouth, and to make him a favorite at the gay court. So popular had he become that his second play, *The Empress of Morocco*, was acted twice at the king's private theater in Whitehall, by the "Lords and Ladies of the Court," with extravagant applause.[1] When

[1] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer;* Whincop, *A List of the English Dramatic Poets*, 282; *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 194.

this play was published in 1673, the Dedication contained references to Dryden, which so inflamed the laureate's jealousy as to provoke an abusive reply; thus began a quarrel between the two poets which continued at intervals for more than ten years. Before entering into a discussion of this controversy, it seems necessary to correct some commonly accepted statements concerning Rochester's connection with it.

Scott says,[1] in effect, that the presentation of *The Empress of Morocco* at court was due to an effort of Rochester

Rochester's Relation to the Quarrel

to play Settle in opposition to Dryden, partly owing to Rochester's fickle and jealous temper, which induced him alternately to raise and depress the men of parts whom he loved to patronise; so that no one should ever become independent of his favor, or so rooted in the public opinion as to be beyond the reach of his satire; but it may be attributed to Dryden's attachment to Sheffield . . . . , then Rochester's rival in wit and court-favor, and from whom he had sustained a deadly affront. . . . . Rochester, who was branded a coward in consequence of this transaction, must be reasonably supposed to entertain a sincere hatred against Mulgrave. But, as his nerves had proved unequal to a personal conflict with his brother peer, his malice prompted the discharge of his spleen upon those men of literature whom his antagonist cherished and patronised. Among these Dryden held a distinguished situation. . . . . Thus Dryden was obnoxious to Rochester, both as holding a situation among the authors of the period, grievous to the vanity of one who aimed . . . . to be the dictator of wit; and also as the friend, even confidant of Mulgrave, by whom the witty profligate had been . . . . humiliated. Dryden was therefore to be lowered in the public opinion; and for this purpose, Rochester made use of Elkanah Settle.

It is impossible to say how much Rochester had to do with the presentation of *The Empress of Morocco* at the private theater, though it is probable that his influence counted not a little in the selection of entertainments given at Whitehall. There can be little doubt, however, that *The Empress of Morocco* would have been chosen for private acting independently of the earl's favor, for the success of *Cambyses*, which had been "acted for three weeks together,"[2] and the influence of the duchess of Monmouth had won for the young author many friends and considerable popularity at court before Rochester had bestowed his favor upon him; besides, Settle attributes the influence for its presentation to the earl of Norwich: "for besides its noble Birth, you gave it a noble Education, when you bred it up amongst Princes, presented it in a Court-Theatre, & by persons of

[1] *The . . . . Works of John Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, I, 153 ff.

[2] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer.*

such Birth and Honour. . . . ."[1] There can be no doubt that Rochester did favor the acting of the play at court and that his influence and genius contributed greatly to the tremendous success of the piece. But it is inconsistent with the facts to suppose that the motive which prompted Rochester to advance the poet's popularity was the humiliation of Dryden. Scott based his reasoning on a false chronology: he placed the first presentation of *Cambyses* in 1671, and that of *The Empress of Morocco* in 1673;[2] but the former was first acted in December, 1666,[3] and the latter not later than 1670.[4] Rochester was, therefore, a patron of Settle during the very period in which he seems to have manifested great friendship for Dryden, for, in 1673, in the dedication of *Marriage à la mode* to Rochester, the author's words show that friendship existed between the two, and contradict any statement that the earl had ever tried to "lower" him in public favor:

> You have been often pleased not only to excuse my imperfections, but to vindicate what was tolerable in my writings from their censures; and, what I never can forget, you have not only been careful of my reputation, but of my fortune.

The earl was still friendly to the laureate, was pleased with the Dedication, and wrote a very complimentary letter to the author as is shown by the latter's reply:

> So dangerous a thing it is to be inclin'd to sloath, that I must confess once for all, I was ready to quit all manner of obligations, and to receive, as if it were my due, the most handsome compliment, couch'd in the best language I have read, and this too from my Lord Rochester, without shewing myself sensible of that favour. . . . . And now the shame of seeing my selfe over pay'd so much for an ill Dedication, has made me almost repent of my address.

One cannot say just what motive prompted Settle to refer to Dryden in the Dedication to his *Empress of Morocco;* Dennis was perhaps correct in attributing it to insolence; there is, however, a probability that the author was trying to avenge Ravenscroft for the attack on his *Mammamouchi*, made in Dryden's *Assignation.*[5] Settle and Ravenscroft were

[1] The Dedication of *The Empress of Morocco.*

[2] The date of the first edition.

[3] Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, 36.

[4] The "Preface to the Reader" in *Ibrahim.*

[5] For an account of the quarrel between Dryden and Ravenscroft, see the edition of Dryden's works by Scott and Saintsbury, IV, 366–79.

doubtless friends, for the former contributed an epilogue to *The Careless Lovers* some time in 1673. The Dedication[1] to *The Empress* reads:

The Impudence of Scriblers in this Age, has so corrupted the Original design of Dedications, that before I dare tell you this trifle begs your Lordships Protection, I ought first to examine on what grounds I make the attacque; for now every thing that ere saw the Stage, how modest soever it has been there, without daring to shew its face above three Days, has yet the Arrogance to thrust it self into the World in Print with a Great Name before it: Where the fawning Scribler shall compendiously say, the factions of Critiques, the ill time of the Year, and the worse acting of the Players, has prejudiced his Play, but he doubts not but his Grace, or his Honours more impartial Judgment will find that Pardonable which the World has so Maliciously Censur'd; that is as much as to say: Sir; you are the only Person at Court whose blind side I dare venture on, not doubting but your good Nature will excuse what all the World (except the Author) has justly condemned. Thus a Dedication which was formerly a Present to a person of Quality, is now made a Libel on him, whilst the Poet either supposes his Patron to be so great a sot to defend that in Print, which he hist off the Stage: or else makes him self a greater, in asking a Favour from him which he nere expects to obtain. However that which is an abuse to the Patron, is a Complement to the Bookseller, who whispers the Poet, and tells him, Sir, Your Play had misfortune, and all that . . . . but if you'd but write a Dedication, or Preface. . . . . The Poet takes the hint, picks out a person of Honour, tells him he has a great deal of Wit, gives us an account who writ Sence in the last Age, supposing we cannot be Ignorant who writes it in this; Disputes the nature of Verse, Answers a Cavil or two, Quibles upon the Court, Huffs the Critiques, and the work's don. 'Tis not to be imagin'd how far a sheet of this goes to make a Bookseller Rich and a Poet Famous.

But my Lord, whilst I trouble you with this kind of discourse, I beg you would not think I design to give rules to the Press, as some of our Tribe have done to the Stage; or that I find fault with their Dedications in Compliment to my own: No, that's a trick I do not pretend to.

Dryden would very probably have found no great offense in this reference to him in Settle's play, but for the poor success of his *Assignation*[2] and the great popularity which this young author had obtained by his first plays; but when the young playwright twitted him with the failure of *The Assignation*, the laureate's jealousy became uncontrollable.

Dryden was not the only writer envious of Settle's success; when the laureate contemplated a reply to the young poet, he had little or no trouble

[1] From the Dedication "To the Right Honourable Henry, Earl of *Norwich*, and Earl-Marshall of England, &c."; quoted from the first edition (1673).

[2] Acted in 1672.

in enlisting Shadwell and Crowne in his design. Together[1] they wrote *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco, Or, some few Errata's to be Printed instead of the Sculptures with the Second Edition of that Play, 1674.* This lengthy[2] and abusive quarto contained the "Preface," "Erratas in the Epistle," the notes on the play, the "Plot and Conduct of the Play," and the "Postscript." The Preface, of which portions are given below, is characteristic of the spirit which pervades the entire work:

Dryden's "Notes and Observations"

When I first saw the Empress of Morocco, though I found it then to be a Rapsody of non-sense, I was very well contented to have let it pass, that the Reputation of a new Author might not be wholly damn'd; but that he might be encourag'd to make his Audience some part of amends another time. In order to do this, I strain'd a point of Conscience to cry up some passages of the Play, which I hop'd would recommend it to the liking of the more favourable, Judges. But the ill report it had from those that had seen it at Whitehall, had already done its business with Judicious Men. It was generally dislik'd by them; and but for the help of Scenes and Habits, and a Dancing Tree, even the Ludgate Audience had forsaken it. After this ill success, one would have thought the Poet should have been sufficiently mortified, and though he were not naturally modest, should at least have deferr'd the showing of his Impudence till a fitter season. But instead of this, he has written before his Play, the most arrogant, calumniating, ill-manner'd, and senseless Preface I ever saw. This upstart illiterate Scribbler, who lies more open to censure than any writer of the Age, comes amongst the Poets, like one of the Earth-born Brethren, and his first business in the World is to Attack and Murder all his Fellows. This I confess rais'd a little Indignation in me, as much as I was capable of, for so contemptible a Wretch, and made me think it somewhat necessary that he should be made an example, to the discouragement of all such petulant Ill Writers. . . . . I knew indeed that to write against him, was to do him too great an Honour: But I consider'd, Ben Johnson had done it before to Decker, our Author's Predecessor,

[1] Just how much each of the three contributed to the piece cannot be said. The Preface and Postscript have usually been assigned to Dryden, and there can be little doubt that they are his work. Crowne, in the Preface to *Caligula*, says, "in my notes on a play called the Empress of Morocco (I call them mine, because *about three parts of four* were written by me) I gave vent to more ill nature in me than I will do again." Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 686) mentions Dryden only, as the author; Dennis (Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer*) attributed the work to the three writers; and Settle mentions, in the Preface to his *Notes and Observations*, all three, but attributes most of the strictures on the fourth act of his play to the work of Shadwell. In spite of the many stupid things throughout the pamphlet, one is forced to conclude that Dryden had much to do with the entire piece.

[2] The Preface contains four pages, the *Errata's* ten, besides the seventy-four numbered pages which make up the body of the pamphlet, and the Postscript.

whom he chastised. . . . . Never did I see such a confus'd heap of false Grammar, improper English, strain'd Hyperboles, and downright Bulls. His Plot is incoherent and full of absurdities; and the Characters of his Persons so ill chosen, that they are all either Knaves or Fools; In short, he's an Animal of a most deplor'd understanding, without Reading & Conversation: his being is in a twilight of Sence, and some glimmering of thought, which he can never fashion either into Wit or English. . . . . Yet both the great Vulgar and the small (. . . .) are apt to admire what they do not understand (. . . .) and think all which rumbles is Heroick: It will be no wonder if he pass for a great Author amongst Town Fools and City Wits. But it will be for the benefit of Mankind here-after, to observe what kind of people they are, who frequent this Play: that Men of common sense may know whom to shun.

The body of the pamphlet consists of criticisms of passages which are supposed to contain examples of "false grammar," "false Similes," "ill-sounding rimes," or poorly selected epithets. One example[1] will serve to show the method pursued:

He has his Tribute sent and Homage given.[2]

A Tributary Subject.

As Men in Incense send up vows to Heaven.

As if Incense could carry up thoughts, or a Thought go up in smoak: He may as well say he will Roast or Bake Thoughts as smoke them. And the allusion too is very agreeable and naturall. He compares Thunder, Lightning, and Roaring of Guns to Incense: And says thus: he expresses his loud Joys in a Consort of Thundring Guns, as Men send up silent Vows in gentle Incense. If this description is not plentifully supplyed with non-sense, I will refer my self the Reader.

The severe censures which Dryden made, both in the Preface and in the parody,[3] upon those who had praised Settle's play had not a little to

[1] The passage is from the second act.

[2] The pamphlet quoted the passages from the play before analyzing them.

[3] Nothing seemed to have worried Dryden more than the fact that Settle's play had been thought worthy of "sculptures." In order to attack this feature of the play, he selected one of the best bits of description in *The Empress* for a parody. The passage selected consists of twenty-four lines, of which six are here given:

Great Sir, Your Royal Father's General
Prince Muly Hamet's Fleet does homewards sail,
And in a solemn and triumphant Pride
Their Course up the great River *Tensift* guide,
Whose gilded Currents do new Glories take
From the Reception his bright Streamers make.

Dryden's lines begin:

Great Boy, thy Tragedy and Sculptures done
From Press and Plates in Fleets do homeward come:

do, no doubt, with bringing to the young poet's defense the powerful courtiers, Rochester and Buckingham, by whom "Mr. Dryden was roughly handled in the famous Controversy betwixt the Wits of the Town."[1] With such defenders, Settle must have felt but little disturbance on account of Dryden's attack. The poet prepared a reply, called *Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco Revised; With Some few Errata's to be Printed instead of the "Postscript," with the next Edition of the Conquest of Granada, 1674.*[2] The Preface to the pamphlet follows in full:

Settle's Defense

Casting my eye upon a Pamphlet entitled Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco; and finding no Authors name to it, I used my best endeavor to get that knowledge by my Examination of the Style, which the unkind Printer had denied me. But that information was quickly obtain'd: For perusing but the First Page of the Preface, and finding such an Appellation as [Arrogant Upstart and Illiterate Scribler,][3] with this Allusion at the Tail on't, [This Fellow comes amongst the Poets like one of the Earth-born Brethren, and his first business in the World is to Attacque and Murder all his Fellows;] I presently recollected the same Fancy, spoken on the same subject, in the Epilogue to Cambyses.

> Like th' Issue of the Dragons Teeth, one Brother
> In a Poetick fury falls on th' other.

In the next Page I find him strutting, and impudently comparing himself to Ben Johnson. [I knew that to write against him was to do him too much honour: But I consider'd Ben Johnson had done it before to Decker, our Author's Predecessor, &c.]

And thereupon with very little conjuration, by those three remarkable Qualities of Railing, Boasting and Thieving I found a Dryden in the Frontispiece. Then going through the Preface, I observ'd the drawing of a Fools Picture to be the design of the whole piece, and reflecting on the Painter I consider'd, that probably his Pamphlet might be like his Plays, not to be written without help. And according to expectation I discovered the Author of Epsome-Wells, and the

> And in ridiculous and humble Pride,
> Their Course in Ballet-Singers baskets guide,
> Whose Greazy Twigs do all new Beauties take,
> From the gay shews thy dainty Sculptures make.

One of the lines most offensive to Settle's admirers, reads:

> "From breaths of Fools thy commendation spreads."

[1] *Vide The English Poets,* II ("The Poetical Register"), 220 and 221; Whincop, *English Dramatic Poets* (1747), 287; Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets,* III, 351; *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), II, 194.

[2] This pamphlet was published in 1687 as *Reflections on Several of Mr. Dryden's Plays. Particularly, the First and Second Part of the Conquest of Granada.* The two editions are identical except in the title-page.

[3] Settle incloses Dryden's strictures in brackets.

Author of Pandion and Amphigenia lent their assistance. How! Three to One thought I? and Three Gentlemen of such disagreeing Qualifications in one Club: The First a Man that has had wit, but is past it; the Second that has it, if he can keep it, and the Third that neither has, nor is ever like to have it. Then boldly on I went and fortified with patience (as I found it requir'd) for a full perusal, I wondered the less at the Deformity of the piece, when such different hands went to the composure. The first of these is the only person that pretends an injury receiv'd from a Satyrick Line or two in the Epistle to Morocco: Such as the Author never design'd for a particular reflection, and such as I am sure Elkanah would have thank'd him for, provided like them, as they had been true, they had been harmless too. And consequently I conclude him the promoter of so Ill-natur'd, and so scurrulous a retort. The Second I suppose only putting his Comical hand to the work, to help forward with the mirth of so ridiculous a Libel: and the Third perhaps out of a Vain Glory of being in Print, knowing himself to be so little a Reptile in Poetry, that hee's beholding to a Lampoon for giving the World to know, that there is such a writer in being. Some have advised me in answering these Notes to retort upon all three: But that would be a tedious work, besides the inconvenience of it. The two last had not the same ends in writing, nor are they so fair marks as the First, One having no Heroicks in Print, and the other such as cannot well be attacqued; his Plays being fortified against Objections. For like the Leper that from Head to Foot was all Deformity, I defie any man to meet with above one fault in a whole Play of his. And therefore in defending Elkanah's writings, to examine His, I think not worth the while, a whole Play being too long for a Repartee. But in taking Elkanah's part, I answer but half the Pamphlet: For through the piece I find the whole Town censur'd; at least all that have seen that Play, being by the modest Commentatour Dignified by the Title of Town-Fops and City Fools, this wholesome advice being given you in the Preface, [It will be for the benefit of Mankind to observe what People frequent this Play, that men of common sense may know whom to shun.] Now the calling all Mankind Fools, one would think were the boldest Drydenism that e'er came in Print. But to convince you that there's worse behind, this Rude, unmannerly, ill-bred, sawcy and over-grown Rayler cannot forbear calling the Ladies Fools too, when he says, [I am not ignorant that his admirers, who are most commonly Women, will ressent this ill, &c.] If therefore through the Examination of his Notes, I reply in his Dialect, and use that Billingsgate Style, which is but Aping of him, and much against my own nature, I declare that 'tis a Language that his Unimitable Impudence more than his Quarrel with Morocco, or his Abuses on the Author have extorted from me.

In the body of Settle's long reply[1] he defends his lines against his opponent's criticisms, and makes counter-criticisms on Dryden's plays. Settle uses Dryden's method of analyzing the lines, and shows that, by "studied misconstruction," even the laureate's best lines may be made

[1] There are 94 pages in small type, besides the Preface and Postscript.

to appear ridiculous. The example selected is the reply to the criticism which was quoted on pages 55 and 56 as an example of Dryden's *Notes:*

> He has his Tribute sent and Homage given:
> As Men in Incense send up Vows to Heaven.

[*Can thoughts go up in Smoak, or be Baked or Roasted?*] How *Common* an expression, sending up Vows to Heaven in Incense and sacrifice is, I leave to the judgment of those that have a great deal less *conversation* in *Books*, such as have read less, but understood more sense than Mr. *Dryden.* Now for the Simile, which in plain sense runs thus; *the General exprest his devotion to the King in fire and smoak as men send up Vows to Heaven in Incense.* But then Sir *Politick Wou'd bee* has found out [*that Canons make a roaring fire, and Incense a gentle silent fire,*] he might as well have gone on, and said that *Incense makes a sweet fire, and Gunpowder a stinking fire; therefore his devotion stinks, and 'tis no Simile: Besides, Canons are made of Iron or Brass, and Altars on which Incense is burnt of Stone or brick,* no Simile agen. At this *Sensless* Rate will I make the best *Simile* that can be writ Nonsense. And for example take a *rarity*, a Simile with sense in it. In his Granada *Almanzor* says to *Boabdelin.*

> "But at my ease, thy destiny I send,
> By ceasing from this Hour to be thy friend.
> Like Heaven I need but only to stand still,
> And not concurring to thy Life I kill."

Here if I'de be as impertinent as he, I should ask how *Almanzors standing still* be like *Heavens* standing still. If he means That Heaven in which the fixt Stars are, and be of *Copernicus* opinion, the *supposition* of his Simile is Nonsense: But if of *Ptolemys*, and supposing Heaven should desist from *motion* and *influence*, he must infer the destruction of *Day* and *Night*, and seasons . . . . 'twould be as bad.

By this *extravagant reasoning*, I'le prove the best thing he ever wrote Nonsense. And what with Lording of *part Quibble*, and *part Sophistry* imitate his way of *arguing*, and make his *description* of *Ships* every Line Nonsense, and demonstrate it so plainly, that if my *Pamphlet Readers* be but half so much *Fools* as I suppose he thought his would be, I shall Infallibly bring 'em to my side.

Dryden had greatly underestimated Settle's popularity; none of the results that he had anticipated followed his attack. Since the court favored the younger poet, Dryden's attack and Settle's reply served only to gain for the latter new friends and to increase his popularity so much that he "was then a formidable Rival to Mr. *Dryden:* And . . . . not only the *Town* but the *University* of *Cambridge*, was very much divided in their Opinions about the Preference that ought to be given them; and in both Places, the Younger Fry, inclined to Elkanah."[1]

[1] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer.*

Although Settle had said nothing in his *Notes and Observations* concerning Shadwell that could have been taken as an insult, the latter seems to have had a most sincere hatred against the poet and to have become a far more bitter enemy than Dryden. He soon resumed the quarrel with Settle which he had begun in aiding Dryden in the composition of the *Notes and Observations* in 1674, and continued for many years to cast aspersions upon his rival and to make every effort to frustrate the successful presentation of the poet's plays.[1] Some time in 1675[2] Shadwell seems to have had charge of the presentation[3] of a play called *The Triumphant Widow; or, The Medley of Humours*, a comedy by William, duke of Newcastle. In this play Shadwell ridiculed Settle in a scene which he had added and which is described by Settle in his "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim:* "He . . . . makes a silly Heroick Poet in it, speak the very words he had heard me say, and made reflexions on some of the very Lines he had so sencelessly prated on before his *Notes*."

Quarrel with Shadwell

Shadwell's ridicule in *The Triumphant Widow* and his malicious opposition[4] to Settle's plays provoked[5] the attack which the latter made upon his enemy in the Postscript to *Love and Revenge* (1675):

I could make excuses for putting an ill Head upon Worse Shoulders; Or tell you as some of our Impertinent Tribe do, that 'twas Written in three Weeks,

[1] *Vide* Settle's charges in the "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim;* Rochester, "A Session of the Poets" (1680) in *Poems on Several Occasions*, 112; Shadwell, *The Tory Poets* (1682).

[2] Genest (*Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 196) says the play was acted in 1676, and the *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), III, 352, gives 1677 as the date of presentation. But according to Settle's statements in the "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim*, the play was probably acted in 1675, for Shadwell's reference to Settle was known to the latter before the presentation of his *Love and Revenge* which was acted in 1675. Settle states, in effect, that Shadwell's ridicule in *The Triumphant Widow* provoked the reference to him in the Postscript to *Love and Revenge:* "The Postscript to *Love and Revenge*, ... had been just after his ill usage in that *Triumphant Widdow*."

[3] *Vide* account in "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim.*

[4] *Vide* Settle's account in the "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim.*

[5] Langbaine (*An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* [1691], 442) states that Settle was the "aggressor" in the attack in *Love and Revenge;* but Settle's statements in the "Preface to the Reader" of *Ibrahim* contradict this view; and his testimony is substantiated by the fact that the manuscript copy of *Love and Revenge* preserved in the British Museum ("Harleian 6903"), contains no postscript nor any reference to Shadwell, showing that its author had no intention of attacking his enemy when he prepared the copy in 1674.

or a Months time, if I thought any Reasonable Man, would be more Favorable to the Defects. . . . . I will not urge that Plea for the Plays Defence; which in the best Interpretation must render an Author Lazy, if not Dull: In the first of which he shews himself Impudent, when he dares be so Disrespectful to an Audience, as to obtrude such incorrect Stuff upon 'em, as he is, or ought to be ashamed of: Or else proves himself a Blockhead, and makes that Excuse, when really he wanted Abilities, not Leisure to write better.[1]

This postscript so incensed Shadwell that he fell upon his rival mercilessly in the Preface to *The Libertine*,[2] where Settle is abused, especially for having called himself a "poet" and for having signed himself in his plays, "Servant to his Majesty."

Settle's resentment of this abuse found expression in a lengthy attack upon Shadwell in the Preface to *Ibrahim*, published in 1677, in which the accusations show to what extent Shadwell's hatred had carried him in his efforts to ruin Settle's popularity:

> For he makes it his business before he sees a Line of any of my Plays, to cry 'em down; and long before they are Acted to make Factions and Cabals to damn them; and in all Companies, he cries *God damme I can't write Sence nor Grammar*.[3]
>
> But this is the least of his venome: for he has not laboured only to blast my plays, but made it his study by all interest and subtilty, with all the scandalous Aspersions he could invent, to ruin me in the esteem of the Honourable Family, whose smiles though with more Zeal than Merit, above all the interest in the World I study to preserve.

Besides the charges, the Preface contains some very apt strictures on *Psyche* and *The Libertine*, and numerous personalities.

The Pope-burning Pageants

In 1679, or earlier, Settle entered into the political struggles of the time as the literary supporter of the earl of Shaftesbury, the leader of the Whig party, who had used the Popish Plot to arouse the hatred of the people against the Catholics in order that the Bill of Exclusion might be passed, and who had sought also to inflame this hatred by quietly organizing the pope-burning ceremonies.[4] In November, 1679, Settle prepared the first elaborate[5] pope-

[1] The remarks all refer to the Preface to Shadwell's *Psyche*, in which he had mentioned "five weeks" as the time in which his play had been written.

[2] Acted and printed in 1676.

[3] This part of the charge seems to be confirmed by the lines in Rochester's "A Session of the Poets" in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1680), 112.

[4] Sitwell, *First Whig*, 101.

[5] *Ibid.*, 116.

burning pageants[1] in England, and some time the next year, perhaps in the summer, published *Fatal Love*, in which he sought to create a feeling against the Catholics by ridiculing nuns and nunneries.[2] On November 17, 1680, the poet was master of the most elaborate pope-burning ceremony on record: "a hundred pounds was spent on the Pope's Car alone, and it is estimated that the whole procession cost ten times as much."[3] The rare sheet—written very probably by Settle—which contains the description of the pageants and a copperplate engraving showing the entire procession, is preserved in the British Museum. A photographic reproduction of the engraving, considerably reduced,[4] appears opposite this page. The title on the original sheet, which appears in a long line above the engraving, runs thus: "The Solemn Mock Procession of the Pope Cardinalls Jesuits Fryars &c: through the Citty of London November the 17th, 1680." Underneath the engraving appears in four double columns, "The Explanation," which gives the reason for such a ceremony, and contains a description of the procession and the nine pageants. The portion of the procession which preceded the first pageant is thus described:

"1. Was a Leader on Horseback; after him marched Whifflers, clad like Pioneers, to clear the way. 2. A Bell-man ringing, and with a dolesome voice saying, *Remember Justice* Godfrey. 3. A Dead Body, representing Sir *Edm. B. Godfrey* Strangled and Bloody, and one of his Murtherers holding him up on Horseback, after the manner he was carried from *Somerset-House* to *Green-Berry* Hill. 4. A large Banner is born by four, where on the painted Cloth are exprest the *Wild-House* Consulters, *viz.*, the Popish Clergy Plotters, all hanging on a Gallows; among 'em are some other pretended Protestants, Betrayers of the Laws and Liberties; on the Reverse is painted Dame *Celliers*, and other Plot-makers, Popish Ingeneers under the Mask of Protestants." The first pageant bore "On the foremost Angle of it, one in Black,[5] playing on a Fiddle, with Pen, Ink, and Papers under his Girdle," and on the opposite side, "the Popish Midwife, leaning on a Meal-Tub"; on the rear of the float "stand some Protestants in Masquerade, in pye-bald Habits." Between this pageant and the next

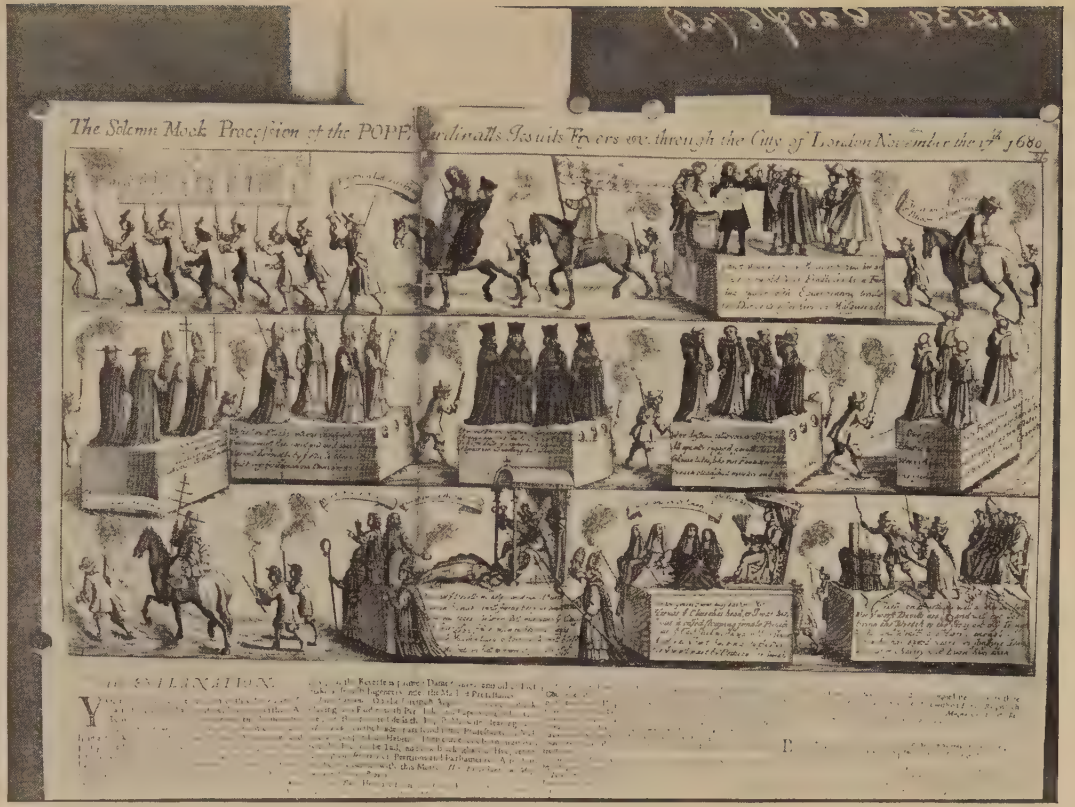
[1] The description of this ceremony and the copperplate engraving showing the procession are reproduced in Scott's edition of Dryden's works, edited by Saintsbury, VI, 237 ff.

[2] *Vide* "Epilogue spoke by Lysandra, in the Habit of a Nun," and Artaban's speech on p. 45 (third act).

[3] Sitwell, *op. cit.*, 116.

[4] The whole sheet is 16×19 inches; the engraving, 10×19 inches.

[5] Sir Roger L'Estrange is meant.



POPE–BURNING PAGEANTS, 1680 (see pp. 61–63)

there rides one "on an Ass, with his Face to the Tail, and in a black ghastly Hue, representing an *Abhorrer*"; he is followed by one bearing a banner with the motto, "*We Protestants in Masquerade Usher in Popery.*" The second pageant bore "Grey Friars" and Franciscans, the third, Benedictines and Dominicans, the fourth, "forty Jesuits," the fifth, two "Popish Bishops and two Archbishops," the sixth, "two Patriarchs and two Cardinals." Following the sixth pageant there was an "officer" of the Pope "distributing of Pardons, and saying, *Loe here you have Heaven for Money.*" The seventh float bore "the *Man of Sin* himself on a Throne, with his Counsellor the *Devil* inspiring of him, what new Artifice of cruelty must come next." The Pope is represented as holding "Two Keys and two Swords"; a page on one side holds the "Inscription, *This is the King of Kings*," while on the other is seen a "Streamer," containing the "Motto, *Thou art our God the Pope.*" The "Crowns and Scepters strowed before his feet" are for distribution among "those poor slavish Princes that will hold their Kingdoms in Villenage from him." The eighth carries "*Donna Olympia*, and poor deluded Nuns," while the ninth shows the "'Cruelties' of the Popish *Circe*," "representing the Fathers of the *Inquisition*, condemning a Martyr to the Stake for Reading the Scripture. . . . ." The whole procession "was attended by hundreds of *Flamboes* and *Torches*," and, during the burning of the Pope, "abundance of Fuzes, like falling Stars, and artificial Fires," "recreated the Spectators" before the statue of Elizabeth which "was adorn'd with a Crown of Laurel, and a Shield, on which was inscrib'd Protestant Religion and *Magna Charta.*" After a "great store of Wine and other Liquors" had been "profusely poured out to the Multitude," "the Protestant," who had been bound on the ninth pageant, is "discharged from the *Inquisition*," and addresses the statue of Elizabeth in verses beginning,

> Behold the Genius of our Land!
> England's Palladium! may this Shrine
> Be honour'd still, and ever stand,
> Than Palos Statue more Divine.

"Pope Joan"

Some time in the autumn of the same year (1680) Settle's political play, *The Female Prelate: Being the History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan*, was acted and soon after printed with a long dedication to the earl of Shaftesbury, in which the author used most abusive language against the Jesuits and all who "side with the Rising Party," and referred to Roger L'Estrange as "Clodpate's Fidler that sings against his Conscience." The whole play is a severe attack on the pope. This work, copies of which seem to have been circulated by

the Whigs who gave the play an enthusiastic reception, was made the subject of satire and ridicule by many writers. Lee made reference to it in the Epilogue to his *Caesar Borgia*[1] (1680), and Dryden referred to it in the "Prologue to *Sophonisba*, spoken at Oxford 1680,"[2] and also in "A Prologue" (1680–81), which is supposed to have been written for Southerne's *Loyal Brother*.[3] In the last, the author refers also to the pope-burning pageants.[4] Sir Roger L'Estrange, who had been represented as a fiddler in the pope-burning pageants and called "Clodpate's Fidler" in *Pope Joan*, made frequent derisive references to Settle's work for Shaftesbury, in his *Heraclitus Ridens*, during 1681 and 1682. In No. 6, March 8, 1681, the poet is represented as the "Poet Laureate Mr. Settle-brain," the author of a poem called "Praise of a Necessary Utensil at a Wedding Ycleped a Tap."[5]

"The Character of a Popish Successor"

Shaftesbury's fight against the duke of York's succession to the crown had reached its culmination in the autumn of 1680. On October 21 the Exclusion Bill passed the House of Commons, but was later rejected by the Lords, owing to the skilful leadership and speech of Halifax. At this juncture Parliament was dissolved on January 18, 1681. Before that body was summoned to meet at Oxford in the following March, Settle, who had very probably been assigned the work of preparing a pamphlet to meet the arguments advanced by the Tories, published *The Character of a Popish Successor and What England may expect From Such a One*.[6] Besides other things of less importance, this lengthy quarto emphasized the designs of the Popish Plot, showed the "absurdity" of the Tories' argu-

[1] *Lee's Dramatic Works* (London, 1734), II.

[2] Scott's edition of Dryden's work, edited by Saintsbury, X, 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, 349.

[4] "Go back to your dear dancing on the rope,
Or see what's worse, the devil and the Pope.
The plays, that take on our corrupted stage,
Methinks, resemble the distracted age;
Noise, madness, all unreasonable things,
That strike at sense, as rebels do at kings.
The style of forty-one our poets write,
And you are grown to judge like forty-eight."

[5] The first of the six stanzas runs thus:

The Rump who upon the late king encroach'd,
And with stumm'd Rebellion the Nation deboach'd
Without a Tap could never have broach'd
Which No Body can deny.

[6] *The Character of a Popish Successor and What England may expect From Such a One. Humbly offered to the Consideration of Both Houses of Parliament, Appointed to meet at Oxford, on the One and twentieth of March, 1680/1.*

ment that a Catholic king would ever punish Romish priests in order to protect Protestantism, combated the suggestion that laws could be made strict enough to hold a Catholic king in check, charged the duke of York with having sought to alienate from the king the affections of the people, and made a strong plea in favor of the right of Parliament to enact laws controlling the succession.

Tory Replies

The Character provoked many replies. One of the first was *A Word Concerning Libels and Libellers*,[1] in which the author speaks of the "weakness" of his opponent's pamphlet, and attempts to answer some of the arguments. But it cannot be considered a comprehensive reply. Besides writing this pamphlet, L'Estrange had his characters "Jest" and "Earnest"[2] ridicule Settle in *Heraclitus Ridens*, December 27, 1681 (No. 48), where the poet is represented as presenting to Shaftesbury, the "Roytelet of Whigland," a poem entitled "Oberon, King of Faries, to the *Prince* of Whigland. A Congratulatory Poem on his happy Restoration, written on the Leaves of a *Medlar-Tree*, and sent by the Penny-Post." The conversation turns to a discussion of *The Character* which is ridiculed by simple "citizens."

The next[3] pamphlet published in reply to *The Character*, is entitled *An Answer to a late Pamphlet: Entituled, A Character of a Popish Successor, And what England May expect from such a One, 1681*, the author[4] of which abuses Settle, defends the priests, and magnifies the dangers of civil war.

The third reply was *The Character of a Papist in Masquerade*.[5] This is a much more comprehensive reply than L'Estrange's first answer, *A Word Concerning Libels and Libellers*. The author deals with almost all of Settle's arguments, which he attempts to refute, for the most part, by showing that they are illogical; but the paper does not impress one in anywise as a successful reply.

[1] *A Word Concerning Libels and Libellers. Humbly Presented to the Right Honorable Sir John Moor, Lord-Mayor of London, and the Right Worshipful the Aldermen his Brethren. By Roger L'Estrange* (1681).

[2] The paper consists largely of conversations on current topics by "Jest" and "Earnest," two "citizens" of London.

[3] The order followed in discussing these replies is the same as that which Settle followed in replying to them in his *Vindication of the Character*. Internal evidence in most instances proves that this arrangement is correct.

[4] The work was published anonymously, but Settle, in his *Vindication*, identified the author as N. Thompson.

[5] *The Character of a Papist in Masquerade: Supported by Authority and Experience. In Answer to the Character of a Popish Successor. By Roger L'Estrange* (1681).

Soon after the publication of these Tory replies, there appeared a defense[1] of Settle's *Character*. The author[2] replies to L'Estrange's charges, and quotes from many authorities in his attempt to strengthen the arguments made in Settle's work.

Settle's Defense

Settle wrote two pamphlets in defense of his *Character*. The first, entitled *A Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor: in a Reply to two Pretended Answers to it* (1681), consists largely of a repetition of his former arguments and of a short defense against the charges made by his opponents. This tract was answered in a pamphlet entitled *The Protestant Admirer or, An Answer to the Vindication of a Popish Successor*, a short quarto written in 1681 consisting largely of abuse. His second reply, called *The Character of a Popish Successour Compleat*,[3] consists of a defense of his first arguments in *The Character*, the introduction of additional evidence and authorities, and a new and forceful presentation of his arguments against "the divine right of kings." The style is vigorous and dignified, and the work must be ranked above that of any of his opponents on the same subject.[4] The second defense was answered by L'Estrange in *A Reply to the Second Part of the Character of a Popish Successor* (1681).[5]

In order to counteract the influence of Settle's *Character* and the pamphlets in defense of the same, there appeared a folio entitled *The Character of a Rebellion*,[6] which is devoted to a general attack on the "Enemies of the Establisht Government." There is no specific reference to Settle's pamphlets, but the title and the arguments leave no doubt that

[1] Entitled *The Character of a Popish Successor, and what England may expect From such a One. Part the Second Or the Dispute of the Succession Moderately discuss'd upon the Considerations of National Practice, Reason, and the Statutes of the Realm. With some Reflections upon Mr. L'Estrange's (and another) answer to the First Part of the Character, &c.* (1681).

[2] Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 765) attributes the work to John Philips, brother of Edward Philips, both nephews of Milton. Settle was not the author; he disclaimed the work in his *Vindication*.

[3] *The Character of a Popish Successour Compleat: in defense of the First Part, against Two Answers, one Written by Mr. L'Estrange, called The Papist in Masquerade, &c., and another By an Unknown Hand* (1681).

[4] Cf. also Wood's estimate, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 686.

[5] The title seems to indicate that the work was a reply to *The Second Part*, but it deals almost entirely with *The Character . . . . Compleat.*

[6] *The Character of a Rebellion, And what England May expect from one, or, The Designs of Dissenters examined by Reason, Experience, And the Laws and Statutes of the Realm* (1681).

the piece was written as a reply to the poet's works on the subject of the succession.

Settle was probably selected to make a reply to Dryden's biting satire on the Whigs in his *Absalom and Achitophel*, which appeared in November, 1681. The answer, entitled *Absalom Senior: or, Achitophel Transpos'd*, appeared anonymously "on the 6th of April, 1682,"[1] containing as a dedication, "The Epistle to the Tories." The work, consisting of about fifteen hundred lines written in heroic couplets, is an imitation of Dryden's poem. The author begins with a somewhat lengthy attack on the pope, on whom he places the blame for the Spanish Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, and the Popish Plot; after some arguments against the divine right of kings, he passes to the real subjects of his satire. The duke of York as "Absalom" is abused for having alienated from the king the affections of the people, Halifax as "Achitophel" is lashed in caustic terms for his work in defeating the Bill of Exclusion, and Dryden as "Amiel" is accused of gross immorality and charged with having had part in originating the Protestant Plot; Shaftesbury as "Barzillai" and Monmouth as "Ithream" are eulogized in extravagant terms. The poem closes with an ironical prophecy of the glories of the reign of James.[2]

"Absalom Senior"

Settle followed this reply to Dryden with satiric references to the laureate in his *Heir of Morocco*.[3] The Prologue and Epilogue, which contained the ridicule, were printed on a single sheet[4] during 1682, for circulation, very probably, among the Whigs. The passage that was, no doubt, most pleasing to the laureate's enemies is in the Prologue:

> And Poets we all know can change like you,
> And are alone to their own Interest true:

[1] Malone, *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Writings of John Dryden*, I; Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 686. It was doubtless known among the Tories as early as January that Settle was working on a reply to Dryden's poem, for L'Estrange, in an attack on the poet in his *Heraclitus Ridens* in No. 50, Tuesday, January 10, 1681/2, referred to him thus: "Poor *Absalom* and *Achitophel* must e'en hide themselves in the Old Testament again; and I question whether they'll be safe from the Fury of this mighty Cacadoggin." Settle is ridiculed also for his pope-burning pageants.

[2] Other characters in the poem that I have been able to identify are: "Jabins," Spaniards; "Hazor," the king of Spain; "Sisera," the commander of the Spanish Armada; "Deborah," Queen Elizabeth; "Borak," Sir Francis Drake; "Shimei," Jefferies; "David," Charles II; "Amnon," Sir Edmundbury Godfrey.

[3] Licensed at Easter Term, 1682.

[4] The play was referred to in this sheet as *The Emperor of Morocco*.

Can write against all Sense, nay even their own;
The vehicle called Pension, makes it down.
No fear of Cudgells where there's hope of Bread:
A well fill'd Panch forgets a broken Head.[1]

While Dryden made no direct reply to the attack in *The Heir of Morocco*, he very probably had some hand in the *Notes on the Emperor of Morocco, by the Wits* (1682),[2] and, in the following November, in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*, he drew the portrait of his former "rival" by which the latter has been known to "succeeding times."[3]

So great had been the influence of Settle's pamphlets on the subject of the succession that attacks were made upon the poet's character and works from time to time in 1682 and even after he turned Tory in 1683. Some time in 1682, perhaps in April,[4] there appeared a pamphlet entitled *A Character of the True Blue Protestant Poet: or, the Pretended Author of the Character of a Popish Successor*, containing the most severe accusations ever made against the poet. The author charged Settle with gross immorality, and said that the latter made proposals of writing for the Tories in reply to his own work for the Whigs; but that, finding his old opponents slow to accept him, he continued with the other party. During the same year (1682) there was published another satirical pamphlet entitled *A Dialogue between the Earl of Sh . . . . . ry, E. Settle and Dr. Oates at parting;* and in 1683 there appeared what seems to have been the last pamphlet written against the poet before he turned Tory. This attack is called *The Character of an Honest Man.*[5]

[1] A reference to the Rose Street episode.

[2] No copy of this piece is known to be extant. The only reference to it that I have seen is contained in a manuscript note in the edition of Langbaine in the British Museum. The press mark of the copy is "C. 45. d. 16." Settle's *Heir of Morocco* was quite generally referred to as *The Emperor of Morocco.*

[3] And hasten Og and Doeg to rehearse,
Two fools that crutch their feeble sense on verse;
Who by my muse to all succeeding times
Shall live in spite of their own doggrel rhymes.
—*Absalom and Achitophel*, ll. 408–11.

Dryden is known to have referred to Settle at least once afterward in his *Vindication of the Duke of Guise* (1683) as "Doeg," and derides him for his *Pope Joan*, his pope-burning pageants, and his work at Bartholomew Fair.

[4] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 686.

[5] *The Character of an Honest Man; whether stiled Whig or Tory, and his Opposite the Knave: Together with some short Reflections on some Passages in a late Pamphlet, call'd The Character of a Popish Successor, and Considerations thereupon. By A Lover of Truth and Peace.*

On October 19, 1682, Shaftesbury, defeated and in danger of execution, fled to Holland, where he died the following January. The Tory cause had triumphed, and Settle, having lost his friend and patron, who had been, it seems, chiefly instrumental in rewarding the poet for his work in support of the Whigs, renounced his Whig allegiance in the early[1] part of 1683, became a Tory, and promised to write against his *Character* and to expose the Popish Plot.[2] Not long[3] after his recantation, Settle published *A Narrative*, a folio pamphlet of twenty-five pages with a six-page "Epistle Dedicatory" to "Sir Thomas Taylor Baronett," in which the author professes affection for the king and the duke of York, and repentance for his "Ills," asserts that his Whig zeal had been due to "Spight and Revenge" engendered by the king's commanding *The Empress of Morocco* to be played at the Duke's Theatre, and expresses great joy over his "escape" from the Whigs. In the body of the *Narrative* the author gives a full history of the Popish Plot from its beginning in 1678, and shows that a large portion of the evidence given by Oates and published in the latter's *Narrative of the Popish Plot* was contradictory and absurd. He closes with a postscript, in which he discusses the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and shows, from Oates's own testimony, that the duke of York had no part in the Popish Plot.

Turns Tory

Settle's recantation was very probably made the subject of satiric references in numerous prologues and epilogues,[4] which have disappeared; some of the numerous pamphlets have been preserved; these give one an idea of the bitter enmity which had been aroused by the published confession. One of the most caustic as well as one of the first replies is entitled *Remarks upon E. Settle's Narrative*, which appeared before June[5] (1683) and therefore shortly after the publication of Settle's *Narrative*. The preface "To the Reader" contained in this pamphlet is a fair specimen of the attacks made upon the poet for his recantation:

> And is E. Settle turned Recanter! nay then, there may be some hopes of the conversion of the Devil and all his Angels. But his own fellow Poets will not believe it; they, in their *Prologues*, say he has only *turn'd Cat in Pan*. And thus again all our hopes touching the *Devil* expire. For alas, he is no more converted than *Satan* himself, & this his pretended *Recantation* and *Narrative*, proves only

[1] Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 687) gives the time as April.

[2] *Vide* account by Wood, *op. cit.*

[3] Wood (*op. cit.*) says the *Narrative* appeared before June, 1683.

[4] Preface to *Remarks on E. Settle's Narrative:* "His own fellow Poets will not believe it; they, in their *Prologues*, say he has only *turn'd Cat in Pan*."

[5] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 687.

an *Expidient* to satisfie the importunate cries of necessity. . . . . And now shall such a slave, fetter'd in the chains of his still clamouring transgressions, be thought a Credible Umpire to determine the cause of *Popish Treason* and *Murder?* Shall he be the proper *Judge* of National Wisdom and Justice? Shall his tainted breath be thought sufficient to blast a Popish-Plot. . . .?

In the body of the pamphlet the author ridicules the reason which Settle gave for his zeal in the Whig cause, attributing all his party enthusiasm to the desire of pecuniary gain. The attack on Settle's personal character is practically a repetition of the charges made in *The True Blue Protestant Poet.* After an attempt at some defense of the Whigs against Settle's accusations in the *Narrative*, the paper closes with an abusive postscript.

Another reply which appeared soon after *Remarks on E. Settle's Narrative* and which is largely a repetition of this pamphlet is entitled *Reflexions Upon a late Pamphlet Intitled, A Narrative Written by E. Settle. With a Vindication of the Proceedings of the Nation from Aspersions cast upon them by that Libell.*

The next pamphlet occasioned by the *Narrative* is both an attack and a defense. In this piece, entitled *A Letter to Mr. Settle, occasioned by his late Famous Recanting and Plot-Ridiculing Narrative*, the Tory author, who signs himself "W. S.," questions Settle's genuineness of repentance, decries the latter's piece because it is "disappointing" in not revealing the "Cabals and Councils" of the Whigs, declares that his agitation of the Plot did more harm than good since people were weary of hearing Oates's name, and says that the party wants the "uncovering" of the "Diabolical *Machines* that are still standing," the revealing of the "grand disturbers of Church and State, the great first movers."

I do not [he continues] condemn your *Narrative* for anything it is, but rather for what is not handled in it. When you have made such Discoveries as shall enable us to Counter-Plot our Enemies, to frustrate their Hopes and mar their designs, when you inform us who they are that were of the Gigantick insolences . . . . , then will we entertain charity enough to believe you came not like *Pandora's* Box with a Painted out-side . . . . against us.

The author then propounds twelve queries concerning the movements of the Whigs against the duke of York; in the sixth of these, he insinuates that Settle "fathered" one or more of the tracts, *Vox Populi*, *Vox Patriae*, *The Intercepted Letter to Mr. L'Estrange*, *Fitz-Harry's Treason-In-Grain*, and *The Growth of Popery, 1, 2, and 3 Parts.* The Postscript defends Settle against the attacks made upon him by the Whigs on account of his recantation, especially against the charges of immorality, and encourages him to go forward in his work for the Tories. The only other tract known

to have been written against the *Narrative* is a short folio entitled *A Vindication of Dr. Titus Oates From Two Late Scurrilous Libels, Written to create a Dis-belief of the Popish Plot. The one Entituled a Narrative by E. Settle. The other a Modest Vindication of Titus Oates the Salamanca Doctor from Perjury, &c. By A. Elliot* (1683).

To all of these replies, Settle wrote, in the same year (1683), an answer called *A Supplement to the Narrative. In Reply to the Dulness and Malice of two pretended Answers to that Pamphlet, Written by E. Settle*, a folio of eighteen pages. The attacks occasioned by the *Narrative* had consisted largely of charges against the character of the poet, and had been so opprobrious that Settle's anger seems to have been more thoroughly aroused by them than by anything else ever written against him, for his reply deals in the most severe invective he ever used. Besides making the counter-attack upon the characters of his opponents, he defends himself against all charges of immorality, and of cowardice in the altercation with Otway,[1] and reasserts his conviction and repentance.[2]

"A Narrative"

Settle's *Narrative* had contained little more than his confession and an attack on the Popish Plot, and his *Supplement* was but a defense of his own character against the charges made by his Whig enemies; but in 1684, in fulfilment of the promise which he is said to have made at the time he turned Tory,[3] he wrote, as a real reply to his *Character*, a work entitled *The Present State of England*.[4] In the

[1] For an account of the affair, see *ante*, p. 24.

[2] Besides making the professions of genuine repentance and enthusiasm for the Tory cause contained in the *Narrative* and the *Supplement*, Settle wrote a eulogistic poem on Sir George Jefferies, the "Shimei" of his *Absalom Senior*. The poem, entitled *A Panegyrick on the Loyal and Honourable Sir George Jefferies Lord Chief Justice of England* (1683), consists of about 445 lines, in heroic couplets, of the most extravagant praise of its subject. In his further efforts to prove to the Tories the genuineness of his repentance and new allegiance, Settle is said (Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 688) to have written two tracts, which must have been revolting to anyone except the most rabid Tory enthusiasts. These pamphlets were occasioned by the executions of Lord Russell (July, 1683) and Algernon Sidney (December, 1683), and entitled *Animadversions on the Last Speech and Confession of the late William Lord Russell*, and *Some Animadversions on the Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs, On Friday December, the 7th, 1683. By Algernon Sidney, Esq.; Before he was Executed.*

[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 687.

[4] *The Present State of England In Relation to Popery Manifesting the Absolute Impossibility of Introducing Popery and Arbitrary Power into this Kingdom. Being a Full Confutation of all Fears and Apprehensions of the Imagined Dangers from thence; and particularly of a Certain Pamphlet, Entituled The Character of a Popish Successor.*

"Epistle Dedicatory," the author quotes[1] from attacks made upon his work and mentions at length the results of his piece, for the evident purpose of showing the Tories how favorably his work was regarded by the Whigs, and how difficult was his task in refuting his former arguments. The author begins the pamphlet with a discussion of the "Fears" of popery that had been "raised," giving his *Character* the chief place among the causes: "The wonderful *State-Convulsions* that Popery (or rather the *Sophistry* of Scribblers upon that *Theme*,) seems to threaten, are no where, I confess, more *spightfully*, more venomously, or indeed (considering the *weakness* of the *Cause*) more *Artfully* described than in that Libel called, *The Character of a Popish Successor*." He proceeds then to "replie to the Argumentative Part of his Character," but the whole work lacks much of the skill and the spirit (Settle was at heart a Whig) of *The Character*.

Settle is not known to have written any polemical work after James[2] came to the throne, except the numbers of *Public Occurrences Truly Stated* from August 7 to October 2, 1688. Henry Care had begun, in December, 1678, the publication of a weekly paper called *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome*,[3] which had supported the Whig cause until February 21,

[1] A specimen of the quotations: "In spight of all his Recantation, his *Popish Character* has that *sense* and *Truth* in it, that not He nor any man will be able to Answer: and in spight of his Teeth will stand a perpetual Record against the Baseness of so vile a Turncoat."

[2] Settle celebrated the succession of James by writing *An Heroick Poem on the Coronation of the High and Mighty Monarch, James II. King of England, &c.* (1685).

Some time in 1688 the poet "edited" *Insignia Batavicae: or, the Dutch Trophies Display'd; Being Exact Relations Of the Unjust, Horrid and most Barbarous Proceedings of the Dutch Against the English in the East-Indies. Whereby is plainly Demonstrable what the English must expect from the Hollanders, when at any Time or Place they become their Masters*, to turn public opinion against the Dutch. He wrote also some argumentative poems after 1700, but these are not known to have produced any controversy. *Eusebia Triumphans. The Hanover Succession to the Imperial Crown of England* (1702) was written against the Jacobites; to this Pope replied in a satiric poem of 24 lines entitled *To the Author of a Poem Entitled "Successio"* (1712?); *Fears and Dangers, Fairly Display'd: Being a New Memorial of the Church of England* appeared in 1706 in reply to a *Dissent* and in celebration of the Whig victory, and *Rebellion Display'd: or, Our Present Distractions Set forth in their True Light. An Heroick Poem*, was issued in 1715, during the struggle between the Whigs and Tories for government leadership when "The Old Pretender" was attempting to obtain the throne.

[3] *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome, or The History of Popery, A Deduction of the Usurpations of the Bishops of Rome, and the Errors and Superstitions by them from time to time brought into the Church. In the Process of which, the Papists Arguments are Answered, their Fallacies Detected, their Cruelties Registred, their Treasons*

1687/8, when its name was changed to *Public Occurrences Truly Stated*, and its support given to the policies of James. When Care died in August, Settle is said[1] to have undertaken the work of publication, beginning with the issue for August 7,[2] and continuing the publication until it was "prohibited to please the people, the prince of Orange being then about to make his expedition into England."[3] Each of the numbers which Settle wrote contained a short essay or argumentative discussion of some political question and items of news concerning the king and court.

When one recalls that Settle was "thought a formidable rival of Dryden"[4] on account of the controversy in which he was said to have got "the better of the argument";[5] that he was chosen as the leading literary supporter of the Whigs by the earl of Shaftesbury;[6] that his *Character* occasioned more answers than any other controversial pamphlet of the period, except perhaps the *Narrative* by Oates; that the Whigs regarded his work as "unanswerable," and that, among those[7] who had reason to dislike him, his work was praised, one is forced to conclude that Settle, in his day, was more than an ordinary controversial writer.

and Seditious Principles Observed, and the whole Body of Papistry Anatomised, Perform'd by a Single Sheet, Coming out every Friday but with a continual Connexion To each being added, the Popish Courant: or Some occasional Jaco-serious Reflections on Romish Fopperies.

[1] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 689.

[2] Care was too sick to write the number for August 7, as the issue states. The number for August 14 contains an account of Care's death, which occurred on the eighth, and states that "the Remaining Part, and further Prosecution of this Christian Design (however Scandalized by Unreasonable Men) will yet be carried on, by a Person, who is fully satisfied, that the Malitious Reproaches Threatenings against the late Author, was most Undeserved." There is little doubt that the author of the issue for August 7 was the writer who prepared the succeeding numbers. The last issue was on October 2.

[3] Wood, *op. cit.*

[4] Dennis, Preface to *Remarks upon Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer.*

[5] Dennis, *ibid.; English Poets' Lives*, II ("The Poetical Register"), 221; Whincop, *English Dramatic Poets*, 282.

[6] *Heraclitus Ridens*, Nos. 48 and 50.

[7] Dunton, *Life and Errors* (1818), I, 183; 1705 ed., 243. Dunton, the founder of the Athenian Society, had been ridiculed in Settle's *The New Athenian Comedy.*

SECTION II

AN ACCOUNT OF SETTLE'S WORKS

A LIST OF THE PLAYS

DISCUSSION OF THE PLAYS

POEMS WRITTEN ON OCCASIONS

CITY PAGEANTS

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS

THE TRANSLATION

CONTROVERSIAL PIECES

DOUBTFUL WORKS

WORKS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO SETTLE

Title	When First Acted	Where First Acted	When Licensed	Date of First Edition	Other Editions
Cambyses, King of Persia	1666–67	Theater in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields	30 May, 1671	1671	1672; 1675; 1692
The Empress of Morocco	1669 or 1670	Twice in private theater at Whitehall. Dorset-Garden Theatre in 1671	24 November, 1673	1673	1673 (second impression); 1687; 1698
*Herod and Mariamne**	1673 (?)	Duke's Theatre†	9 February, 1673/4	1673	1674
The Conquest of China by the Tartars	Before Feb., 1673/4	Duke's Theatre	10 Feb'y, 1675/6	1676	....
Love and Revenge	1675	Dorset Garden	10 May, 1675	1675	....
Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa	1676	Duke's Theatre	4 May, 1676	1677	1694
Pastor Fido	1676	Duke's Theatre	26 December, 1676	1677	1689; 1694
Fatal Love, or the Forced Inconstancy	1680	Theatre Royal	1680	1680	....
The Female Prelate	1680	Theatre Royal	1680	1680	1689
The Heir of Morocco	1682	Theatre Royal	1682	1682	1694
Distress'd Innocence: or, the Princess of Persia	1690–91	Theatre Royal	February, 1691	1691	....
The Fairy Queen	1692	Queens Theatre	See note‡	1692	1693
The New Athenian Comedy	Probably never [acted	....	No record	1693	....
The Ambitious Slave: or, a Generous Revenge	1694	Theatre Royal	No record	1694	....
Philaster	1695	Theatre Royal	...	1695	....
The World in the Moon	1697	Dorset Garden	1697	1697	1697 (second impression); [1698(?)
The Virgin Prophetess: or, the Fate of Troy	1701	Theatre Royal	1701	1701	1702§
The Siege of Troy¶	1707	Bartholomew Fair	No record	1707	1708; 1715; 1716; 1718
The City-Ramble	1711 (?)	Theatre Royal	No record	1711 (?)	....
The Lady's Triumph	1718	Lincoln's-Inn- [Fields Theatre	....	1718	....
The Expulsion of the Danes from Britain	Never acted	See note**	....	Never printed	....

*Originally written by Pordage. †The "Duke's Theatre" meant, from 1671–1683, Dorset-Garden Theatre. ‡Advertised May 5–9, 1692.
§Second edition appeared as *Cassandra: or, the Virgin Prophetess.* ¶A droll. **If Settle had lived the piece would have been acted at the Theatre Royal.

DISCUSSION OF THE PLAYS

Introduction

Settle exemplified more perhaps of the many different types[1] which characterized the drama from the Restoration to the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century than any other writer of the period. Having begun his literary career a few years after the rhymed heroic plays became popular, he followed the fashion in the use of the heroic couplet in the first five[2] of his plays, and in almost all of his tragedies introduced elements that were the result of the influence of that peculiar type of the drama known as the heroic tragedy. In 1676 the poet abandoned the heroic couplet, using thereafter blank verse and prose in all of his dramatic productions except the droll.[3] Having become the literary supporter of Shaftesbury in his political struggles, Settle produced his party tragedy of *Pope Joan* in 1680; after returning to the stage he wrote a satiric comedy against the "Athenian Society" in 1693, and so far yielded, in his latter years,[4] to the movement against the immorality of the stage as to introduce moral teaching into his last comic opera. In the production of these general types Settle was but yielding to waves of influence that were felt by almost every writer of the time. But during his whole career he was continually placing under contribution many things that were peculiar to the drama before the Restoration. In writing his *Pastor Fido* he must have had *The Faithful Shepherdess* before him; *The Fairy Queen* is *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* with operatic features inserted; *Philaster* was adapted with but little change; some of the tragedies contain situations and devices identical with those in the revenge plays of Webster and Tourneur; *The City-Ramble* depends almost entirely for plot and device upon *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *The Coxcomb*, and the pastoral settings in *Fatal Love*, *Pastor Fido*, *The World in the Moon*, *The City-Ramble*, and *The Lady's Triumph* were most probably modeled after similar scenes in the romantic comedies of Shakespeare and Beaumont and Fletcher. His works[5] may be divided roughly into heroic tragedy, revenge tragedy[6] after the type produced by Webster and Tourneur, "political

[1] Cf. Thorndike, *Tragedy*, 250.

[2] *Love and Revenge* was written in blank verse but that was an adaptation, and is not counted in this comparison.

[3] *The Siege of Troy.* [4] 1718. [5] Including his adaptations.

[6] As stated above, no one of Settle's tragedies was without some "heroic" elements; but he produced some in which revenge is the one predominating motive.

allegory,"[1] tragi-comedy, pastoral, comic opera,[2] tragic opera,[3] satiric comedy, masque, and droll.

In but one thing, the use of scenic display, can Settle be considered to have contributed anything material to the drama. The first dramatic productions after the Civil War were operas.[4] The elements of music, dancing, and spectacle in the first plays influenced all succeeding dramatic productions,[5] no doubt, and were introduced, as in the case of Settle, into both tragic and comic themes. Settle was impressed with the idea of scenic display, and believed, from the beginning of his career, that theatrical effectiveness had much to do with the success of a dramatic production.[6] By the skilful introduction of spectacle into his second play he became, for six or seven years, the undisputed favorite of the court and the rival of Dryden; on account of his ability as an inventor of elaborate display, he was chosen designer and manager of the pope-burning pageants and processions in 1679 and 1680, was later appointed "city poet," and given an annual salary for many years for devising drolls for Bartholomew and Southwark fairs. There is little doubt, as he asserted, that nothing had ever been presented on an English stage so elaborate as *The World in the Moon;* and it is attested by Downes[7] that *The Fairy Queen* "was superior in ornaments" to *King Arthur*[8] and *The Prophetess*[9] and so expensive "in setting it out" that the company made little by it although the piece was very popular. Moreover, I am persuaded that it was Settle's ability as a contriver of "machinery" more than anything else that caused Betterton and Booth to continue their interest in the poet and to aid him in his last years,

[1] This is a tragedy also. Other famous examples of the period are *The Duke of Guise* and *Venice Preserved*

[2] This was of two kinds: domestic comedy with operatic elements; romantic comedy with operatic features.

[3] The period produced every variety of the so-called opera: the elements of music, dancing, and spectacle were introduced into tragedy with and without comedy, into tragi-comedy, and into almost every variety of comedy.

[4] The term is here used, as it was during the seventeenth century, to refer to dramas in which music, dancing, and scenic display were introduced.

[5] Cf. Thorndike, *u.s.*, 245.

[6] *Vide* the Epilogue to *The Careless Lovers;* Prologue to *Love and Revenge;* Prologue to *Herod and Mariamne;* Epilogue to *Ibrahim;* advertisement to *The World in the Moon* in the *Post-Boy* (cf. the "Biography," pp. 30 and 31); Prologue to *The Virgin Prophetess.*

[7] *Roscius Anglicanus,* 37.

[8] Dryden's opera, produced in 1691.

[9] Betterton's adaptation of Fletcher's play, which was presented in 1690.

even when public condemnation of the aged playwright had become so general and fatal. It is not fanciful, therefore, to conclude that "the best Contriver of *Machinery* in *England*,"[1] who produced so many dramatic pieces with elaborate spectacle, should have contributed something in increasing the tendency to seek theatrical effectiveness in the drama, especially when many of the poet's own plays were successful.

Settle's dramatic work is very variable in quality. One frequently meets surprises and disappointments in the same piece: parts of some plays are good enough to have been done by a dramatist of more than ordinary ability, while other portions of the same production drop to tiresome mediocrity.

The passion of heroic love is allowed to take all color out of many of the poet's characters, especially in those tragedies written before 1677; it must in justice be said, however, that Settle never permitted his characters to indulge the passion to the absurd degree seen in some contemporary plays. And some of the persons, especially in his later plays, are presented with marked and pleasing individuality.

Although Dennis' praise of Settle's poetry is extravagant,[2] it may in truth be said that he possessed a "poetical ear"[3] and produced heroic couplets that compare favorably with the best of any of his contemporaries[4] except Dryden, and that his blank verse, while often flat and dull, is sometimes sonorous and pleasing. His rhymed verse was unquestionably modeled after Dryden's, and his blank verse very probably after that of the late Elizabethan writers.[5]

Cambyses King of Persia,[6] the first of Settle's plays, is a tragedy founded upon supposed events in the reign of the Persian king, but, as in most heroic

[1] [Chetwood], *Brit. Theatre* (1750), 96; Cibber, *The Lives of the Poets* (1753) III, 353; Dodsley, *Theatrical Record* (1756), 69.

[2] Preface to *Remarks on Mr. Pope's Translation of Homer:* "I defy any Man to show me Half the Number of Errors, in the same Number of Lines in any of Mr. Settle's Writings . . . . that are in the First Six Pages of *Windsor Forest*."

[3] Cf. Scott's estimate in *The . . . . Works of Dryden*, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, I, 225.

[4] *Vide* Dunton, *The Life and Errors* (new ed.), 183.

[5] Cf. criticism in *Notes and Queries*, Series I, Vol. V, 52.

[6] First acted in December, 1666, at the Duke's Theatre; licensed March 6, 1670; first edition, 1671. The second edition (1672) has title-page identical with that of the first edition, except the date, and the text is the same to the bottom of p. 21; from this point to p. 37 there are some changes in the speeches and arrangement of scenes, but the remainder shows no material changes. The edition published in 1675 is con-

plays,[1] the material of history is used merely as a background for the treatment of the one predominating feature—heroic love. The action begins in this play, as it does in most of Settle's heroic tragedies, at the close of a successful campaign when the king or general in command returns home flushed with victory. Cambyses has just arrived from his conquests of Syria and Egypt, having brought with him as captive the young prince Osiris, "contracted to Mandana," and the Egyptian princess Mandana, whom the king loves. Theramnes, son of the late king of Syria, had come to Persia during Cambyses' "progress into Egypt," had induced Parasithes, "deputy of Persia," to support an impostor in the usurpation of the crown, had been made general of the usurper's army, and had "privately" fallen in love with Orinda, daughter of prince Otanes. Orinda's sister, Phedima, who is loved by Darius, heir to the throne, is loved also by the usurper. The whole plot is complicated by a misunderstanding on the part of the usurper, who thinks that Theramnes, his general and friend, loves Phedima. While Cambyses prepares to attack the usurper, and the armies are waiting, the action shifts from Cambyses' camp to the palace at Susa where the usurper is intrenched, and back again, in the many scenes of love-making, in which Cambyses pleads for Mandana's love, the usurper Smerdis, for Phedima's, and in which Theramnes, tricked by the usurper, is forced into a personal encounter with Darius. Prexaspes, the arch-plotter and confidant of Cambyses, having been promised the Syrian crown by the usurper, turns against and stabs Cambyses, lays the guilt on Mandana because she had refused the villain her love, is made commanding general by the usurper, imprisons the king's commanders, Otanes and Darius, whom he means to kill, and plans to have himself proclaimed king. But when the day arrives for the execution of the generals,

"Cambyses," 1666

siderably shortened; the fourth (1692) is almost identical with the first, though neither the second, third, nor fourth has the Postscript.

The title-page of the first edition reads: *Cambyses King of Persia: A Tragedy. Acted by His Highness the Duke of York's Servants. Written by Elkanah Settle, Gent.*

Aut Famam sequere, aut sibi convenientia finge
Scriptor.—Hor., *de Arte Poet.*

Licensed, March 6, 1670. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Pope's Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. 1671.

The special prologue written for the presentation of the play at Oxford in 1672 was never included in any edition, and may never have been printed. It is preserved in the Bodleian ("MS. English poet, 1. 4," fol. 177).

Copies of the 1671 edition are at Columbia and Chicago; of the last at Yale; and copies of all at Harvard and in the British Museum.

[1] Cf. Tupper, "The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher" in *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XIII, 589, 590.

Theramnes, who was supposedly killed in the duel with Darius, appears disguised as executioner, refuses to obey Prexaspes, whom he binds, and releases the prisoners. The usurper is killed, Darius, who is proclaimed king, weds Phedima, Theramnes is rewarded with Orinda's love and his kingdom of Syria, Prexaspes confesses the murder of Cambyses and stabs himself, and Mandana, having been given her kingdom of Egypt, marries Osiris. The plot has none of the inevitableness of great tragedy: the author commands the action at pleasure, making use mainly of surprise and variety of incident to enlist interest, so that the reader cannot tell until the last scene is reached whether the ending is to be happy or unhappy. Theatrical effect is obtained by a duel, scenes with horrible stabbings, the appearance of a dead body, the head of which "floats" in a pail of blood, "bloody" clouds as portents, a masque in which spirits descend and ascend, and a woman's hand appears holding a bloody dagger, and, finally, by the appearance of the ghosts of the murdered Cambyses and his brother Smerdis. All of the characters, as the canons of the heroic play required, are of noble birth. The women are pure and noble, models of honor and chastity, but conventional and colorless. With the exception of the villain, the men are all and equally magnanimous, devoted, chivalrous, and ready to sacrifice everything to love. There is almost no rant; the interest is well maintained, and the action fairly rapid.

The best of Settle's rhymed tragedies and the most popular of all his dramatic productions, *The Empress of Morocco*,[1] is a good example of a

[1] For an account of the presentation of the piece, its success, etc., see the "Biography," and "Quarrels and Controversies."

The piece was acted at the private theater not later than 1670, and at Dorset Garden in 1671. It was licensed in November, 1673, and printed with "sculptures" the same year. The first edition was printed in two impressions (see account in my edition of the play soon to be published). A second edition appeared in 1687 and a third in 1698, both without cuts. The "sculptures" are said by Genest (*Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 122) to have been "republished in 1809," but I have never seen any other reference to the fact.

Copies of the first edition with all six cuts perfect are extremely rare. Since the first cut is longer than the usual quarto, this page had to be folded and was, in consequence, frequently torn or trimmed. Only one ("644, i. 8") of the three copies in the British Museum has all the cuts; this copy was so trimmed in binding that several of them have been cut down on the sides. Two of the copies in the British Museum ("644, i. 8" and "163, h. 60") are of the first impression, containing the mistakes; the other ("841, C. 21") is of the second impression and is the only copy of this impression that I have seen. Neither of the copies in the Bodleian has all the cuts perfect. The Guildhall copy has all the cuts in very good state of preservation. There is but one copy of the first edition, so far as I know, in America. This is in the Harvard Library; it lacks pp. 9–16 of the text and two of the cuts. Harvard has copies also of the 1687 and 1698 editions, and Columbia possesses a copy of the second edition.

"heroic or rhyming tragedy" into which abundant spectacular features were introduced. The story deals with supposed events in the history of Morocco.[1] Muly Labas, son of the emperor of Morocco, has eloped with Morena, daughter of the neighboring king Taffalet, against the wishes of both rulers; and in consequence, he and his bride have been put in chains and condemned to die, when Taffalet, who has declared war on the emperor because of the episode, reaches Morocco with his army. The "Queen Mother," Laula, the evil force throughout the play, has her paramour, Crimalhaz, poison the emperor, and frees her son and his bride, who are declared emperor and empress of Morocco. The "Queen Mother" desires to kill her son in order to place Crimalhaz on the throne, but before this can be accomplished successfully she must get rid of prince Muly Hamet, general of all the Moroccan forces and favorite of the king and people, who is in love with the queen's daughter Mariamne. Muly Hamet returns home with his victorious fleet to pay homage to the young emperor, and, during the festivities of the coronation, accidentally comes upon Laula and Crimalhaz in their guilt. The prince is accused by the "Queen Mother" of attempted rape, is banished from the kingdom, and set upon during his departure by the old queen's villains. Laula has Morena innocently kill her husband in a masque of hell, and places Crimalhaz on the throne. The latter refuses to kill Morena, whom he now loves, and orders Laula bound; the latter, feigning repentance, stabs Morena, attempts to kill Crimalhaz, and takes her own life. At the approach of Taffalet's army, led by the banished Muly Hamet who had escaped from the ruffians, all the soldiers of Morocco lay down their arms, the young prince is proclaimed emperor, and marries Mariamne. In the last scene, the villain Crimalhaz is "cast down on the Gaunches" and killed. This play has a better-defined and a simpler plot than *Cambyses*, and the material is handled in a much superior manner, but there is still the same dependence on surprise and external conflict. Although the play, as a literary production, had interest aside from the theatrical effectiveness, its chief attraction, no doubt, lay in the scenic display. The gorgeous palace-scenes, the frequent appearance of emperor, princes, and princesses in prison, the returning "fleet of ships" that boomed their homage on the Tensift River, the hailstorm and rainbow, the dance of Moors under the palm-tree, the masque of hell at the army's camp in the Atlas Mountains, the villains' ambush and attack on Muly Hamet, and the latter's single-handed victory, the violent assassinations, the attacking

"The Empress of Morocco," 1669 or 1670

[1] The question of sources will be discussed in my edition of the play, which will appear at an early date.

army of Taffalet, and lastly, the most horrible scene in which the villain is "cast down" upon sharp steel hooks and scythelike knives of the torture-room, must have made the performance very spectacular. Although the characterization is weak, the skilful handling of scene and the rapid and varied action make the effect of the piece vivid and lasting.

"Herod and Mariamne," 1673

The next play, *Herod and Mariamne*,[1] though published by Settle, had been written by Pordage "a dozen years" before it was printed.[2] The Prologue and Dedication were supplied by Settle, but it is not known that he added anything else or in any wise changed the original play. The piece is written in heroic couplets. The emotions are, for the most part, overdrawn; but Herod's moods of jealousy, of brutal love, and of the most consuming affection, as well as his final madness and genuine repentance, are presented with striking reality. The play ends in a real "tragedy of blood."

"The Conquest of China," 1673/4

The Conquest of China, By the Tartars[3] was, according to Settle's statement, written before *The Empress of Morocco*, but for some reason was not acted until 1673/4.[4] The story which Settle says[5] had "*History and Truth*" for its basis, deals with war and revenge, treachery and ambition, fidelity and love, and is made exciting by much mental and physical torture, disguises, a combat between the champions of the two armies to decide the supremacy of China, poisonings, and stabbings. To add to the bloody spec-

[1] Licensed February 9, 1673; printed in "1673," but the date must have been a mistake according to the new system of reckoning; reprinted without change in 1674.

The title-page of the first edition reads:

Herod and Mariamne. A Tragedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre.
—Stulta est Clementia, cum tot ubique
Vatibus occurras, perituraе parcere chartae.—Juven.
London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Popes-Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand, 1673.

[2] See account in the "Biography."

[3] Acted before February 1673/4; licensed February 10, 1675; first edition, 1676.

The title-page reads: *The Conquest of China, By the Tartars. A Tragedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Written by Elkanah Settle, Servant to His Majesty.*
—Multum sudet frustraque laboret
Ausus idem, tantum series juncturaque pollet.—Hor.
London, Printed by T. M. for W. Cademan, at the Popes-Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, in the Strand, 1676.

[4] See account in "The Biography."

[5] The Epilogue to the play. Langbaine (*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* [1691], 440) says the plot is founded on history, and refers to "*Heylins Cosmography, Book 3d; Palafax*, his *History of China*, translated in octavo; *John Gonzales de Mendoza; Lewis de Guzman*, etc."

tacle, the king of China, after slashing himself with a dagger, writes his will in his own blood, and the bodies of all his wives, who follow his example of self-destruction, are presented on the stage with daggers and swords "thrust through" their breasts. Besides the two pairs of romantic lovers, who balance each other in the two threads of the plot, there is the lovelorn princess of China who sacrifices her life to unrequited love, the plotting, ambitious villain who, as in *Cambyses* and *The Empress of Morocco*, is satisfied with nothing less than a throne. But only for a short time is the plotter allowed to enjoy his power as the self-declared ruler; as he is about to commit some heinous crimes to remove, as he thinks, all obstacles to his reign, retributive justice punishes him, rescues the heroes and heroines, and saves the play, in the very last scene, from ending as a horrible tragedy. The moving force in the conflict between the nations is revenge. The king of the Tartars is incited to vengeance by the ghost of his father who was murdered by the "king of China." The son of the Tartar king, one of the heroic lovers, has placed his affection upon one of the petty queens in China who, disguised as a man, leads the "Chinan" forces and, as the chosen champion, meets her lover in single combat before the two armies. The villain is a prince of the Chinese court who, rejected by the princess and sole heir to the throne because she loves a prince pledged to another, is yet determined to win the throne by deeds of violence and treachery. The action is often slow, the speeches tiresome and ranting, and the characters without anything to give them interest. The play contains the most extravagant treatment of the passion of heroic love of all of Settle's works, and is the only one in which there are such ranting speeches and puerile sacrifices as are seen in *The Conquest of Granada*.

Love and Revenge,[1] "founded on a Tragedy call'd the Fatal Contract,"[2]

[1] The title-page reads: *Love and Revenge: A Tragedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Written by Elkanah Settle, Servant to his Majesty. London, Printed for William Cademan, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Popes-Head in the New-Exchange in the Strand, 1675.*

The manuscript of the play in Settle's hand and bearing the date 1674 is preserved in the British Museum as "Harleian 6903," and is identical with the printed play except that it contains no postscript (see reproduction of the title-page in the "Biography," p. 45). Acted at Dorset Garden in 1675 (Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 179); licensed May 10, 1675. Copies in the British Museum and Bodleian, and also at Harvard, Columbia, Yale, and Chicago.

[2] *The Fatal Contract*, by William Heminge, is thus described by Langbaine (*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* [1691], 247): "A tragedy acted with good Applause, by Her Majesties Servants; and printed quarto *Lond.* 1653. This play was published after the Author's Death, having pass'd thro' many Hands as a Curiosity of Wit and Language. . . . . It was reviv'd not many Years since under the Title of

is a play in blank verse, filled with revenge and the most revolting lust and depravity, and reminds one somewhat of similar plays by Webster and Tourneur.[1] The main theme is the revenge of Chlotilda, disguised as the Moor Nigrello, who had been ravished by Clotair, son and heir to the king of France. Chlotilda's father Dumane and his two sons, in their attempt to destroy Clotair, had, by mistake, killed the brother of Queen Fredigond, who is seeking, therefore, to destroy all of Dumane's kin, and, at the same time, plans to kill her two sons Clotair and Lewis, in order to gratify her lust and place her favorite Clarmount on the throne. Chlotilda, who has become, as the man Nigrello, the confidant of the queen and of the young king Clotair and of his brother Lewis, is so desperately revengeful as to raise the queen's and Clarmount's hopes of "leading a profane Life in an unlawful Lust" before she kills them, so that their souls may be lost, and goes to the extreme of perfidy to accomplish the deaths of Clotair and his mother, Queen Fredigond. The avenger is killed by Clotair just before the latter takes his own life. There are so many deaths that, although the love of Lewis and Aphelia is rewarded, the ending cannot be called happy. The influence of the heroic tragedy is seen in some characteristics of the heroine Aphelia, in the style of several of the speeches, and in the ending of the piece. The author depends much upon surprise and upon such spectacular horrors as a ghost, the exhibition of dead bodies, bloody duels, pretended insanity, poisonings, and stabbings, to maintain interest, but, in spite of some poor motiving, the play is not without dramatic power, and may be read with pleasure.

"Love and Revenge," 1675

Ibrahim The Illustrious Bassa,[2] a "fair example of a heroic play on a

Love and Revenge, with some Alterations. The Old Play being out of print, it was about three Years ago [i.e., 1687] reprinted as a New Play, under the title of *The Eunuch*. For the Plot 'tis founded on the *French* Chronicle, in the Reigns of *Chilperic* the First, and *Clotaire* the Second: Consult *Grêgoire de Tours*, Lib. 4, 5, &c. . . . ." Cf. also the account by Schelling, *The Elizabethan Drama*, I, 426, 427.

Settle's statement in the Postscript is a fair account of his part in the play: "In the two First Acts, there is much of the Original Copy remaining. But from Page 25th, 'tis entirely New to the End, excepting the Last Scene in the 4th Act, and a little Scene between Dumane, Lamot, and Burbon. For in the Fatal Contract, after the supposed Death of Lewis, In the 2d Act Aphelia in the very next Scene after, at First Word, asking, much like the Ephesian Matron, Marries the King, her Lovers Murderer, which quite varied the Intrigue to the End."

[1] Cf. especially *The Revenger's Tragedy*.

[2] The title-page of the first edition reads: *Ibrahim The Illustrious Bassa. A Tragedy. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Written by Elkanah Settle, Servant to His*

French love-story of the accepted type,"[1] is written in rhymed heroic verse, a few passages of which show some poetic power. The conflict, which is of the most obvious kind, is the struggle between the sensual passion of Solyman for the Christian princess, Isabella, and the pure love of Ibrahim for the same noble woman, to whom he was contracted years before his appearance at Solyman's court. Ibrahim's cause is strengthened by the empress Roxolana who is devoted to Solyman, and by the lovelorn daughter of the king, Asteria, who cherishes an undying virgin love for the hero, Ibrahim. Roxolana poisons herself and, in her dying moments, regains Solyman's love; Asteria is killed by the villainous Morat who is himself killed by the hero. Ibrahim and Isabella are permitted to return to their own land in the enjoyment of each other's love, but under somewhat inauspicious circumstances:

"Ibrahim," 1676

> *Ibrahim.* Success at last our mutual wishes win,
> But by such scenes of horror usher'd in.

A pastoral in rhymed heroic verse, which, on the whole, is superior to that in the plays already discussed, *Pastor Fido*,[2] contains a beautiful

Majesty. Licensed May the 6th, 1676. Roger L'Estrange, Printed by T. M. for W. Cademan, at the Popes-Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand, 1677.

Acted in 1676; a second edition, which appeared in 1694, is practically the same as the first, except that it omits the "Preface to the Reader."

Copies of the first and second editions are in the British Museum and the Bodleian, and of the first at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and Chicago.

For a discussion of the success of the piece and of its part in the quarrel with Shadwell, see the "Biography," pp. 18, 19, and "Quarrels and Controversies."

[1] Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 397.

The play is founded on Scudéry's *Ibrahim, ou l'illustre Bassa.* Settle depends upon the romance for almost all of the incidents.

[2] For a discussion of the success of the piece, see the "Biography."

The title-page of the first edition reads: *Pastor Fido; or, the Faithful Shepherd. A Pastoral. As it is Acted at the Duke's Theatre. Sylvestrem resonare doces Amaryllida Sylvas.*—Virg. *Licensed, Decem. the 26th, 1676. Roger L'Estrange. London, Printed for William Cademan, at the Popes-Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange in the Strand, 1677.* The Dedication is signed "Elkanah Settle."

The play was acted in 1676 (Genest, *Some Account* . . . . , I, 196), and licensed again, July, 1677 (*Term Catalogues*). Two other editions appeared, a second (1689) and a third (1694). I have not compared a copy of the second edition with the first, but the third is essentially the same as the first.

Copies of the first and third editions are in the British Museum, of the second in the Guildhall, of the first and second at Harvard, and of the first only, in the Bodleian, and at Chicago, Yale, and Columbia.

Reed states in his *Notitia Dramatica*, I, 31, that *Pastor Fido or the Faithful Shep-*

"Pastor Fido," 1676

story[1] with fascinating and delightful scenes, set in the realms of the poetic Arcadia where live romantic shepherds and shepherdesses. Diana, the patron-goddess of the shepherds, is offended because one of her priests has been deceived by a nymph, and the oracle has decreed that annually a living sacrifice must be made:

> That yearly, we to Nights offended Queen:
> A Maid or Wife should offer, past fifteen,
> And under twenty; by which means the rage
> That swallow'd thousands, one death should asswage;

but that

> . . . . Woe shall end, when two of Race Divine,
> Love shall Combine:
> And for a faithless Nymphs Apostate State,
> A faithful Shepherd supererogate.

Hope of deliverance for the shepherd-folk centers in the consummation of the contract made during the early youth of Silvio, of great Alcides' line, and Amaryllis, "From *Pan* descended," since

> Now there is left in all *Arcadia*,
> Of Heav'nly stock, no other branch but they.

But the union seems impossible, for the Nimrod Silvio is averse to love, and Amaryllis secretly loves Mirtillo, though she, as the pattern of honor as well as of love, is willing to keep her early promise for her people's sake.

herd was acted at Dorset Garden "Oct. 30, 1706," "by women with singing by Mrs. Tofts," and again "at D[rury] L[ane] Jan. 7, 1707" by women. He does not say this was Settle's play, but it must have been, for I know of no other play by that title until 1809 (*Biographia Dramatica*, III, 130).

[1] The play is founded on Fanshawe's translation of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, a new edition of which was licensed November 22, 1676 (*Term Catalogues*). Settle depends for incident of plot and outline of character upon Fanshawe's work, though he has changed some of the characters, as he says, and has been free in dealing with the incidents of the story. Perhaps the most noticeable change that Settle made was the development of the character Sylvano from a semihuman figure (in Guarini's play) to a real man. His statement (in the Dedication) of his indebtedness runs thus: "I confess I have taken a great deal of Liberty in the Characters of *Sylvano* and *Corsica*, because they were not kept up in the Author in the first of which, in the Translated *Pastor Fido* (for I am a Stranger to the *Italian*) flag'd in the second Act, and was wholly lost in the two last. And the part of Dorinda was made up new to fit it for the person design'd to Act it: And the two last Acts which have so little of the Authors, have still his design, only that I have represented what was but Narrative in the Original."

The action is further complicated by the crafty young shepherdess Corsica, whose love for Mirtillo carries her to sinful abandon in her efforts to attain the object of her desire. When Amaryllis is condemned to death for incontinence, through the artifices of Corsica, and Mirtillo offers to die instead, he is discovered to be the lost brother of Silvio, and, since he too is of divine origin, fulfils the oracle's demand by marrying the object of his love. A secondary thread, the love-affair between Silvio and the nymph Dorinda, contributes little to the story, though it adds a pretty, tragic scene, in which Silvio, mistaking the nymph for a wild animal, supposedly kills her; she, however, recovers, and, having aroused the love of the hunter by her patient suffering, marries him. Sylvano, the blunt shepherd with his homely wit and blind love for the faithless Corsica; Mirtillo, the frank, chivalrous, buoyant youth, with his refreshing love for the beautiful, high-souled Amaryllis, the paragon of love and duty; the forward, scheming Corsica, the foil to the gentle, guileless Amaryllis; Dorinda, the fawn-like nymph of the forest with her simple affection for the hunter prince, afford diversified motives, vary the action, and keep high the interest to the end, while the splendid hunting-scene, with sound of horn and "cry of huntsmen," the return of the shepherds, singing and bearing in their van the trophy of the chase, the head of the great wild boar, the affecting woodland scene, in which the shrinking Dorinda is pierced by the arrow from Silvio's bow, and the dance and song of the shepherdesses in the forest, give a setting to the story that is very charming.

"Fatal Love," 1680

The first of Settle's plays in blank verse is *Fatal Love, or the Forced Inconstancy*,[1] a tragedy founded on a Greek story.[2] The exciting force is the mad jealousy of Prince Artaban, who has left the princess Olizia on their wedding-day. When several years have passed, and reports of Artaban's death at sea have come to the mourning princess, she is about to begin life anew by wedding Philander,

[1] Neither the copy in the British Museum nor that in the Bodleian has a title-page. The title as given is printed at the top of the pages of the text. There is a copy at Columbia and one at Harvard.

The piece was acted at the Theatre Royal (Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 276) in 1680; licensed and printed in 1680.

[2] Langbaine, *op. cit.*, 442, is correct in tracing the source of this play to the Greek romance, *Clitiphon and Leucippe*, by Achilles Tatius. The material which Settle used is found in books v–viii, inclusive, of the Greek story. Settle was very free in his use of the incidents, many of which were changed or omitted to suit the requirements of a tragedy; his ending is practically new. The names of the characters are all changed, though the name of Leucippe's mother, Panthea, is given by Settle to his heroine, who is virtually the same character as Leucippe of the romance.

a Sicilian long contracted to Panthea. Artaban returns on the day of the wedding, and, seizing the lovers, puts them into prison. The main story is complicated by a secondary thread. Artaban's steward, Pyrgus, indulges an illicit passion for a slave whom he frees and brings to Olizia's palace during the prince's absence. She proves to be the long-lost Panthea, and is madly loved by Artaban on his return. The prince frees Olizia and Philander on the request of the self-sacrificing Panthea, but, through the machinations of the villainous and lustful Pyrgus, a duel takes place between Philander and Artaban, in which both are fatally wounded; the artifices of Pyrgus are discovered during the dying moments of the two combatants, and the base steward is killed. Olizia falls upon the sword, and all die except Panthea who goes to a nunnery. Poor characterization, unskilful development of plot, lack of scenic interest, and flat blank verse cause the play to leave a weak impression and sufficiently explain its failure when it was first presented.

"Pope Joan," 1680

The Female Prelate: Being The History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan[1] is a tragedy in blank verse of revenge, intrigue, ambition, and lust. In the use of ghosts, the peculiar disguises and devices by which the pope and her paramour satisfy their lust, the employment of fire to betray the guilt of the intriguing villains, and in the scenes of torture, one is reminded of the revenge plays which were produced before the Civil War. The protagonist of the story,[2]

[1] The full title of the first edition is: *The Female Prelate: Being The History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan. A Tragedy. As it is Acted at The Theatre Royal. Written by Elkanah Settle, Servant to His Majestie.*

Facit Indignatio Versus.—Juven.

London: Printed for W. Cademan, at the Popes head in the New Exchange. 1680.

The piece was licensed, acted, and printed in 1680. A second edition appeared in 1689.

Copies of the first and second editions are preserved in the British Museum, and copies of the first in the Bodleian, and at Yale, Harvard, and Columbia.

[2] Langbaine (*op. cit.*, 441) says of the story: "This Play being founded on History, see *Marianus Scotus, Sigibert, Sabellicus:* and for the *English,* he may read *Platina* translated in Fol. by Sir *Paul Ricault;* and the life and Death of Pope *Joan,* written heretofore in a Dialogue, by Mr. *Alexander Cooke* . . . . a Piece so much cry'd up, and admir'd . . . . , that it was translated into French by J. De la Montaigne, 'Tis now published in a set Discourse 8°. Lond. 1675." "Jas. Crossley" (*Notes and Queries,* Series I, Vol. V, 52) discusses the source: "I have not seen it anywhere noticed that this play . . . . was certainly a mere alteration of an old play on the same subject. It is impossible for anyone to read many pages of it, without seeing everywhere traces of a much more powerful hand than 'poor Elkanah's.' . . . . Take at random the following quotation, which is more like Middleton's or Decker's than the debased style after the Restoration. . . . ." I agree with Mr. Crossley in thinking that there

the young duke of Saxony, can find no happiness until he avenges the murder of his father. The latter was poisoned by his confessor who is now the "cardinal of Rhemes" and who is soon to become Pope Joan. When Saxony accuses the cardinal of the crime before the "Consistory," the latter acknowledges the deed, but explains that it was done because the old duke was an enemy to Rome; she gains thereby great praise, and is unanimously elected to the "Roman Chair." The duke and his young bride are imprisoned by the pope who, having formerly been a mistress of the duke's father, has her lustful passion aroused for the son. Lorenzo, the pope's paramour, who indulges a guilty passion for the beautiful duchess of Saxony, devises a scheme whereby he and the pope satisfy their passion for the young duchess and the duke. But during a fire in prison, the ghost of the murdered father appears "with a Taper and touching a train of fire above him, which immediately writes upon the Walls, in . . . . letters in a bloody fire, the word MURDER," and the duke discovers that he has been lying with the pope instead of the duchess. When the latter learns the terrible deceit played upon her, and that she is dishonored, she dies of grief and shame. But Saxony escapes from prison, kills Lorenzo, and, though failing in his attempt to strike down the pope, an act for which he is later executed, exposes her guilt. The latter, having miscarried on the streets of Rome, is drowned in the Tiber. The play has a large number of interesting scenes: the conclave of cardinals at which Saxony makes his famous speech, the election of the pope, the elaborate "ceremony of the pope's installment," the torture-scenes in the underground dungeons, the fire, and the appearance of the ghost in the prison, the "rabble of Romans," the impassioned address of Saxony to the Roman populace, the papal procession, the killing of Lorenzo by the avenging Saxony before all the cardinals, the pope, and people, and the public

is a likeness in this play to some by the later Elizabethan writers; I think, though, that there are even greater likenesses seen in others of Settle's plays. The similarities merely show that the poet was indebted to the earlier writers for many hints in plot, device, and style. I call attention to the fact nowhere mentioned, so far as I know, that, in *The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome* (numbers 40 to 42, April, 1680), there is "An Introduction to the famous Controversie about Pope Joan. Her Story briefly related. And Modern Papists impudent *Denials* thereof. A Catalogue of above Sixty ancient Authors, *all of the Roman Church*, who have Recorded and mentioned the same as Truth." This account not only gives many of the details of the story as it appears in the play, but contains also many expressions that are found in the piece. Whether Settle was indebted to this account or vice versa, its appearance shows that the subject was being discussed generally, and that all available sources of material were being used. Had there been a play on the subject, I think some mention of the fact would have been made.

arrest and burning of the duke at the stake. In spite of the fact that the tragedy was written as a party play to arouse hatred against the pope and Catholics, and is therefore full of the most revolting lust and vitriolic invective, interest is maintained at a high pitch throughout. The character of the duke, who may have been drawn from the person of Shaftesbury, is not unskilfully depicted, the pope who, as "Joanna Angelica," was supposed to have been educated in Athens, Rome, Spain, and France, is represented true to this conception, and the beautiful and faithful duchess is far more natural than the usual heroine in the heroic plays, and more like the type found in the tragi-comedies of Beaumont and Fletcher. The dialogue is brisk, the passions are well depicted, and the speeches of Saxony are well wrought and full of genuine feeling.

"The Heir of Morocco," 1682

The Heir of Morocco, with the Death of Gayland[1] contains a plot very similar to that in *Ibrahim*, with the difference that, in the latter, the hero and heroine are joined in the end and the kingdom restored, while in *The Heir of Morocco* all the characters meet violent deaths. The whole action centers in the struggle between the love of Altomar for Altemira, and the ambition of Albuzeiden, king of Algiers, who tries to force his daughter to marry Gayland,[2] the usurper of the crown of Morocco, because the latter promises to

[1] The title-page of the first edition reads: *The Heir of Morocco, with the Death of Gayland. Acted at the Theatre Royal. By E. Settle.*

Rectius Iliacum Carmen deducis in Actus,
Quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.—Hor.

London, Printed for William Cademan at the Popes Head in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1682.

The play was acted March 11, 1682 (Malone, *The . . . . Works of John Dryden*, I, 174, where the play is called *The Emperor of Morocco*); "Printed and Published Easter-Term 1682"; a second edition in 1694. The piece was revived at Drury Lane January 19, 1709 (Genest, *Some Account*, etc., I, 330); the Prologue and Epilogue were published on a single sheet in 1682, in which the play was entitled *The Emperor of Morocco*.

Copies of the first and second editions are in the British Museum and at Harvard; copies of the first are in the Bodleian, and at Columbia and Yale; Chicago has a copy of the second. There is a copy of the rare sheet containing the Prologue and Epilogue in the possession of Mr. John H. Wrenn of Chicago, and there is one also in the Advocates' Library.

The second edition is essentially the same as the first.

[2] The figure of Gayland was drawn from contemporary history. Pepys (*Diary*), August 20, 1662, says: "I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland, which is of great concernment to Tangier"; and again on August 21, 1663, he notes: "Mr. Creed told me, how my Lord Teviatt hath received another attacque from Guyland at Tangier, with 1,000 men, and at last, as it is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him."

make the kingdom of Algiers great if Altemira gives him her love. The conflict is complicated by an underplot of revenge. Meroin, a former admiral of the "Algerine" forces, plots the death of the king and his daughter when the latter refuses him her love. When Altemira refuses to obey her father's commands to marry Gayland, Altomar is imprisoned and his life threatened. The boastful Gayland goes to the prison to destroy his rival, but is himself killed in the struggle with Altomar. The latter is placed on the rack and tortured unmercifully, but just before he dies a messenger announces that the suffering lover is the real heir of Morocco. The long mental anguish through which she has passed and the shock of seeing her lover tortured to death have crazed the loving Altemira, who stabs herself to death; remorse brings the king also to self-destruction. Although there is in the first act a very pleasing love-scene in which the characters are well drawn, the passions natural, the action lively, and the dialogue rapid and interesting, the love soon becomes of the highly artificial, heroic kind, the characters unnatural and boastful, the style extravagant, and the action unduly retarded. In spite of the exciting boudoir scene in which the lives of the king and Altemira are saved by the hero and the avenging Meroin is killed, of the single-handed combat in the prison and the death of Gayland, and of the terrible torture-scene in which the court appears, interest flags, and the play leaves but a weak impression.

"Distress'd Innocence," 1691

The best of Settle's tragedies, *Distress'd Innocence: or, the Princess of Persia*,[1] shows in motive, depiction of passion, and delineation of character, a decided influence of the later Elizabethan drama. The mainspring of all the action is the crafty, intriguing, ambitious, and revengeful Otrantes, former general of the Persian forces, who, having been guilty of wrong-doing, was

[1] For an account of the success of the piece see *ante*, p. 27.

Advertised in the *Post-Boy* December 29–31, 1696, as *Distressed Innocency* (manuscript note in the British Museum copy of Langbaine ["C. 45. d. 16"], p. 122). The title-page of the first edition reads: *Distressed Innocence: or, the Princess of Persia. A Tragedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal by Their Majesties Servants. Written by E. Settle.*

Ut ridentibus arrident, ita flentibus adsunt
Humani vultus: Si vis me fere dolendum est
Primum ipsi Tibi, tua infortunia laedent
Telephe vel Peleu. . . . .
—Hor., *de Arte Poeticâ.*

London, Printed by E. J. for Abel Roper at the Mitre near Temple-Bar in Fleet-Street, 1691.

First advertised in "*Gaz.* Dec. 11–15, 1690" (manuscript note in British Museum copy of Langbaine [*op. cit.*]); acted in 1691 (Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 2).

Copies are in the British Museum and Bodleian, and at Harvard and Yale.

supplanted by the Christian prince Hormidas, nephew of Isdigerdes, king of Persia.[1] This "malcontent" plans to destroy Hormidas and enlists in his nefarious designs the aid of the ambitious and powerful Orundana, only daughter and heir to the crown, by arousing her fear and suspicion of her cousin Hormidas who, as the next heir in line and general of all the forces, might with reason have been feared had he not been loyal. In the prosecution of his schemes, the arch-avenger is further aided by the Magi, whose jealous hatred against the Christians is easily inflamed, and by Rugildas who, seeking revenge because his brother had been condemned to death by Hormidas, becomes the agent of Otrantes in all his designs. The struggle of the hero against such forces might have been shortlived and uninteresting had Hormidas been less a Christian and cast in a less genuinely heroic mold. But he, a splendid personage, princely and martial, yet magnanimous and loyal to a fault, tender and loving, self-sacrificing and forgiving, cannot fall before the forces of evil without a mighty conflict. When he is called from his victorious campaign, he is accused of disloyalty to the princess Orundana and asked to show his allegiance and fidelity by publicly proclaiming her "birth-right" on the next day. During the night the villainous Otrantes has the Magi burn the temple of the sun, and then apparently proves that the deed was committed by the Christian bishop Audas at the direction of Hormidas, an offense for which the former is executed and the latter deprived of his command and made to water camels in the army of which Otrantes is now general. When the villain further triumphs in his vengeance by drugging the faithful wife, Cleomira, with the Magi's "philters," and marrying her during her stupor, he discloses the fact that Orundana is his own daughter and that Cleomira is the real princess, and plans to kill the king so that he, as the husband of the true heir, may succeed to the throne. Hormidas hears and reveals the plot to the king, thus saving his life and accomplishing the death of Otrantes, but is himself killed in a struggle with Rugildas after the latter has stabbed Cleomira. Throughout the play the action is rapid and varied, and the passions are well presented. The speech of Bishop Audas, made to the king and court before his execution, and that of Hormidas,

[1] Of the story Genest (*op. cit.*) says: "This play is founded on the 5th book of Theodoritus—Settle has warpt the story in favour of the Christians, for Abdas, from a mistaken zeal, did pull down a temple—Hormidas (properly Hormisdas) was forced to lead the camels of the army, (as mentioned in the play)—it was not however his wife, but the wife of another person who was taken from her husband and given to a slave—all other circumstances relating to Hormidas and Cleomira are fiction." Settle says of the plot, in the Dedication: "Whatever Fiction I have elsewhere interwoven, the distresses of Hormidas and Cleomira are true History."

delivered just after the bishop's death, exhibit a reality and fervency that are surprising. One of the most effective features of the play is the skilful arrangement, in which Settle was perhaps aided by Betterton,[1] of scenes throughout the course of the action. The trial and speeches of the bishop and Hormidas are happily introduced into the action in the second act; the third act is rendered most impressive by the pathetic and affecting scene in which the noble wife and little son of Hormidas appear to the latter who, clad in "slavelike habit," is watering the camels of the army, and by a palace-scene which exhibits the climax of Otrantes' fiendish vengeance by allowing Hormidas to see Cleomira who, surrounded by gorgeous trappings and glittering gems, and arrayed in a nuptial gown of cloth of gold, sleeps, under the influence of the Magi's "philters," as Otrantes' bride. The fifth act has a fitting close in the scene in the king's palace in which Hormidas reveals the designs against the ruler and accomplishes the death of the avenger in the king's private temple. The play possesses genuine dramatic power and, were it more accessible, doubtless would be read by many with real pleasure.

The Fairy Queen,[2] published annoymously, was, I think, never attrib-

[1] Of the assistance of Betterton and Mountford, the author speaks in the Dedication: "I must make my publick Acknowledgements to Mr. Betterton for his several extraordinary Hints to the heightening of my best Characters, nor am I a little indebted to Mr. Montfort, for the Last Scene of my play which he was so kind to write for me." The Epilogue has the words, "Written by Mr. Montfort."

[2] For an account of the success of the piece, see *ante*, p. 29.

The title-page of the first edition reads: *The Fairy Queen: An Opera. Represented at the Queens-Theatre. By Their Majesties Servants, London, Printed for Jacob Tonson, at the Judges Head, in Chancery-Lane, 1692.*

Where you may have complete Sets of Mr. Dryden's Works in four Volumes; the Plays in the order they were Written.

There is no record in the *Term Catalogues* of the licensing of the piece; a manuscript note in the copy of Langbaine in the British Museum ("C. 45. d. 16," p. 160) speaks of the advertisement of it: "*The Fairy Queen, a new Opera. Represented at the Queens Theatre by their Majesties Servants. Gaz.*, May 5–9, 1692.

"'The scarce Musick for the *Fairy Queen*, set by the late Mr Henry Purcell, and belonging to the Patentees of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, London, being lost by his death: whoever brings the said score, or a copy thereof, to Mr. Zachary Baggs, Treasurer of the said Theatre, shall have 20 guineas reward.'

"*Gaz.*, October 9–13, 1701.

"Repeated in *Gaz.* of October 16–20 adding after 'reward,' 'or proportional for any act or acts thereof.'"

A second edition appeared in 1693, the title-page of which contains, "*With Alterations, Additions, and several new Songs*"; since the copy of this edition in the British Museum is imperfect, I could not compare it with the first farther than to p. 42. The changes to that point did not seem very considerable: I noticed some differences of

uted to any writer until Hazlitt[1] assigned it to Dryden. I know of no reason for thinking that Dryden wrote it, unless it is the fact that the title-page contains at the bottom an advertisement of Dryden's plays. In the Dedication the author calls the piece his first opera, a statement which might have been made by Settle who had produced no opera before; but Dryden could not have made such an assertion without being purposely untruthful, for his *King Arthur* had been acted the preceding year. It is evident that Settle had produced a play or droll, called *The Fairy Queen*, as early as 1683, for, in a pamphlet entitled *Reflexions on Settle's Narrative* (1683), the author, in his attack on Settle for having turned Tory, says: "A Dedication to a Pope Joan[2] or a Fairy Queen at a Bartholomew Fair, bring in but rare and uncertain Profit; but an Imployment of this nature is sure to be attended with a rich and constant Revenue." Some years after, Settle worked his *Virgin Prophetess* into a droll, and, judging from the author's assertions in the *Reflexions*, one would conclude that *Pope Joan* had also been adapted for presentation in a booth at the fair. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the reverse process was followed in the case of *The Fairy Queen*, and that a droll by that name was later developed into an opera and published as such in 1692. The evidence in the pamphlet quoted above, and the fact that some of the stage directions, "machines," and elaborate scenes are almost identical with those found in some of Settle's plays,[3] cause me to feel little hesitancy in ascribing the opera to the poet. The author made free use of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*. He omitted most of the first and last scenes, rearranged the tradesmen's scenes, abridged some of the scenes in which the lovers wander in the forest, and added the subsequent operatic material,[4] some of which is not unskilfully introduced into the action of the comedy.[5] This is, in the second act, a "grotto" amidst arbors and walks where is heard a song and "Instrumental Musick, in imitation of an Eccho," "a Fairy dance" in which Titania appears, songs by "Night," "Mystery,"

"The Fairy Queen," 1692

arrangement, the addition of a song, and a comic feature in which the fairies lead in "three Drunken Poets *one of them Blinded*" (cf. the account of this feature in the Furness-Variorum edition of the *M.-N. D.*, p. 340).

[1] *Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early Eng. Lit., Second Series* (*s.v.* "Dryden").

[2] Settle's play. It was first acted in 1680.

[3] *Vide* especially *The World in the Moon; The Virgin Prophetess; The City-Ramble; The Lady's Triumph.*

[4] Purcell wrote the music; Priest composed the dances (*Roscius Anglicanus*, 57).

[5] For a much fuller description, see *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* in *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. Furness, X, 340.

"Secresie," and "Sleep," and "A Dance of the Followers of Night"; in the third act, a forest, a "river" over which "Two great Dragons make a Bridge" and on which "two Swans are seen" to swim to the bank, turn to fairies, and dance, "a Troop of Fawns, Dryades, and Naiades," who sing "A Song in two Parts," "Four Savages" that "fright the Faries away and Dance an Entry," songs by "Coridon, and Mopsa," "A Song by a Nymph," "A Dance of Hay-Makers" who sing in "Chorus"; in the fourth act, "a Garden" filled with "Cypress Trees" among which are "Marble Columns supporting Many Walks which rise by Stairs," "Hills" from which "break mighty Cascades to feed the" gilded "Fountains" from which the water "rises about twelve Feet," "A Sonata," the appearance of "The Sun dissipating the vapors" as it ascends, a song on "The Birth-Day of King Oberon," the dissipation of the clouds before the appearance of "Phoebus in a Chariot Drawn by four Horses," songs by "Spring," "Summer," "Autumn," and "Winter," and "A Dance of the Four Seasons"; in the fifth act, "a short Simphony," a scene in which "Juno appears in a Machine Drawn by Peacocks" and is addressed by Oberon while "a Symphony Plays"; a song by Juno and the ascension of "the Machine"; a "Chinese . . . . hanging Garden" in which "strange birds" fly, fountains play, and Chinese men and women sing; a dance by "Six Monkeys" in the garden; a song "in Parts" and the appearance of "Hymen" among the "China-Orange-trees"; "Grand Dance of Twenty four Persons" while "Hymen and the Two Women sing together"; another song and dance by the Chinese men and women; "a Grand Chorus" in which "All the Dancers" join; and a dialogue between Oberon and Titania, which serves as an epilogue.

The New Athenian Comedy[1] is a piece of obscene satire[2] of the "Athe-

[1] The title-page of the comedy, which was, apparently, never acted, reads: *The New Athenian Comedy, Containing The Politicks, Œconomicks, Tacticks, Crypticks, Apocalypticks, Stypticks, Scepticks, Pneumaticks, Theologicks, Poeticks, Mathematicks, Sophisticks, Pragmaticks, Dogmaticks, &c. of that most Learned Society.*

. . . . *Ede, quid illum*
Esse putes? quemvis hominum secum attulit ad nos.
Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Alyptes,
Augur, Schaebates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit,
Atticus esuriens, ad coelum jusseris, ibit.—Juv., *Sat.* 3.

London, Printed for Campanella Restio, next Door to the Apollo, near the Temple, 1693.

The dedication to "Edw. Wilson, Esq.," is signed "E.S."

The *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 43, states that this play is very probably the same as that referred to in "Mr. Whincop's Catalogue" as *The Athenian Coffee-house.*

There is no copy of the piece in the British Museum, but there is one at the Bodleian and another at Harvard.

[2] Dunton, the founder of the society, says in his *Life and Errors* (1705), 247; (1818), 188: "The Play was a poor performance written however, on purpose to expose

nian Society"[1] in three acts, written in prose. The members of the society who edited *The Athenian Gazette*[2] are introduced in the upper room of a London coffee-house as "Obadiah Grub, Divinity and Poetry Professor of the Society" (Mr. Wesley),[3] "Jerry Squirt, Casuist and Physician in Ordinary" (Dr. Norris), "Joachim Dash, Mathematician" (Mr. Sault), and "Jack Stuff, a subtle, ingenious, half Author, half Bookseller" (John Dunton). Since the publication of the society consisted largely of answers to questions and discussions of problems propounded by subscribers, the members are represented as debating the "knotty point," "Which is the more Noble Animal, a Louse or a Flea?" and answering the foolish questions concerning love and marriage of an Islington milkmaid, Dorothy Ticklecat, who pays the members in cream and strawberries. The wit is dull and the language scurrilous.

"The Athenian Comedy," 1693

One of the least interesting of Settle's plays, *The Ambitious Slave; or, A Generous Revenge*,[4] is a tragedy of revenge, ambition, intrigue, and heroic love, in which the blank verse is, for the most part, flat and prosaic, the depiction of passion poor, and the characterization weak. With a background of war, the action begins with revenge as the motive force, but underplots of ambition and heroic love are allowed to dissipate the main motive to such an extent that the reader's interest in the whole action flags, and the piece leaves but a tame impression in spite of some scenes that would have been very effective in a better-constructed plot. There are no less than four conflicts of emotion that might have been developed into struggles of genuine dramatic force and power, but none can be said to be effectively handled. Tyrganes goes to India and woos for his brother, the "King of Persia,"

"The Ambitious Slave," 1694

us but failed so far in the design of it, that it promoted ours. There was nothing of wit through the whole of it; and the Reader may take notice that Mr. *Settle's* genius was quite run out towards the conclusion of the Third Act, and could not carry it an inch farther."

[1] For an account of the society and its quarrels, see Dunton (*loc. cit.*), and a manuscript note in the copy of Langbaine in the British Museum ("C. 45. d. 16"), p. 139, under "Tate." The first members were Dunton, Richard Sault, Dr. Norris, Samuel Wesley.

[2] Later changed to the *Athenian Mercury*.

[3] I am reasonably sure of the identifications.

[4] The title-page reads: *The Ambitious Slave: or, A Generous Revenge, A Tragedy. Acted at the Theatre Royal. Written by E. Settle.*

Tantaene Irae

London, Printed for A. Roper, and E. Wilkinson, at the Black-Boy in Fleet street, 1694.

the "Indian Princess" Herminia, who becomes "Queen of Persia." Although Tyrganes falls in love with the princess during the courtship, he conquers his chaste passion, and, on his return home, leads the Persian forces to avenge the capture of his sister Clarismunda by the Scythian king Orontes, who has killed her lover and seeks to make her his queen. She continues eager for revenge, although her captor's love is so great that he sends her to her brothers with ten thousand horse to aid her in her designs. With the returning princess there goes to the Persian court the attendant, Celestina, whose ambition is to rule a king, and who, having won the love of the Persian ruler, seeks to destroy the queen and marry him. Her ambition becomes now the chief motive, Clarismunda having forgiven Orontes, who takes his own life. Through the artifices of this bewitching Scythian, the Persian monarch, who would be true to his queen but for the "unaccountable resistless Power" that "drives him headlong," has his queen and brother executed. But the evil woman becomes a maniac, and, in a scene in which the ghosts of the guiltless Herminia and Tyrganes appear to her and the king, she reveals her guilt and dies. The play closes with the king bemoaning his fate.

"Philaster," 1695

Philaster[1] is an adaptation of Beaumont and Fletcher's play. Until the fourth act is reached, the only changes are the shortening of the scene between Pharamond and Megra in the second act, a slight rearrangement of other scenes, the omission of some stage directions, the change of a number of prose lines into blank verse, the breaking-up of some long speeches into shorter ones by having one of the interlocutors insert a remark or ask a question, and the addition of some unimportant speeches. In the fourth act the first and second scenes are almost the same as the originals; the third scene is shortened by omitting the countryman's part, and the fourth scene is also much abridged. From this point to the end, the new play differs somewhat from the original: the scenes and incidents are changed and new scenes added,[2] but the ending is the same. Though the abridgment of the scene in the second act, the

[1] The title reads: *Philaster, or Love lies a bleeding. A Tragi-Comedy. As it is now acted at His Majesty's Theatre Royal. Revis'd, and the Two last Acts new Written.*

Multa renascentur, quae jam cecidere, cadentque
Quae nunc sunt in honore. . . .—Hor., *de Art. Poet.*

London: Printed for R. Bentley, at the Post-House in Russel street in Covent Garden. 1695.

The *Term Catalogues* contain a notice of the publication of the play in June, 1695. This seems to indicate a second edition, but I have seen no other mention of such an edition.

[2] Cf. an account in Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 66.

shortening of some other scenes, and the breaking-up of long speeches into parts may be said to add to the effectiveness of the original, Settle's adaptation, as a whole, is inferior to the old play.

"The World in the Moon," 1697

Referred to as a "comical opera"[1] and a "dramatic-comic-opera,"[2] *The World in the Moon*[3] is in reality a comedy, consisting of two separate plots, which served as an excuse for the introduction of elaborate setting, singing, and dancing, just as *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* afforded an opportunity for the introduction of similar material in *The Fairy Queen*. In the first plot, Widow Dawkins has come to London with her clownish son, Tom, to see her landlord, Wildblood. The latter, with his friend Stanmore, takes Tom to see the rehearsal of the *New World in the Moon*,[4] and gives him to his friend Jo. Hayns who, as the operator of "Machines," introduces the bumpkin in some scenes that must have afforded the gallants great amusement. In the second story, Palmerin Worthy and Jacintha Stanmore are not allowed to marry because the lover is poor, and because the father of the girl, "Old Stanmore," is determined that she shall marry a wealthy "old doating Alderman," Sir Dottrel Fondlove. To thwart the design of the parent, Palmerin becomes a servant in Sir Dottrel's household; when at night the old alderman goes to steal Jacintha, she gives the alarm, Palmerin appears disguised as a justice, and frightens Sir Dottrel into returning to him an estate that had been unjustly seized.

[1] Langbaine, *op. cit.*

[2] Whincop, *A Compleat List of the English Dramatic Poets*, 283.

[3] For an account of the success of the opera, the advertising in connection with it, etc., see *ante*, pp. 30, 31.

The title-page reads: *The World in the Moon; An Opera. As it is Perform'd at the Theatre in Dorset-Garden, By His Majesty's Servants, By E. S.*

Tentanda via est.

London: Printed for Abel Roper, at the Black-Boy over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. MDCXCVII.

The *Term Catalogue* (June, 1697) contains this notice: "The single songs in the New Opera of *The World in the Moon* Set by Dr. [Daniel] Purcell and Mr. [Jeremiah] Clarke. Price 6*d*."

A second edition was published a month after the first. This is really a second impression with the words "The Second Edition" inserted in the title-page. There are copies of the first edition at Chicago and Harvard; of the second, in the British Museum. There are copies of the play in the Bodleian and at Columbia, but I do not know whether they are of the first or second edition. Langbaine (*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* [1699], 124) mentions "1698" as the date of publication of the piece. If he is right there was perhaps a third edition.

[4] This is the title in the play.

Comic effect is gained largely by situation, though the remarks of the clownish Tom were no doubt greatly enjoyed at the time, and the scenes in which Sir Dottrel is supposed to make love to Jacintha must have been made very ludicrous and enjoyable by the clever girl, whose wit was as sparkling as her love was pure and faithful. At the end of the first act, Wildblood, Stanmore, and Tom go to the rehearsal, the first scene of which is thus described: "The Flat-Scene draws, and discovers three grand Arches of Clouds extending to the Roof of the House terminated with a Prospect of Cloud-work, all fill'd with the Figures of Fawnes and Cupids; a Circular part of the back Clouds rolls softly away, and gradually discovers a Silver Moon, near Fourteen Foot Diameter; After which, Silver Moon wanes off by degrees, and discovers the World within, consisting of Four grand Circles of Clouds, illustrated with Cupids, &c. Twelve golden Chariots are seen riding in the Clouds, filled with Twelve Children, representing the Twelve Celestial Signs. The Third Arch entirely rolling away, leaves the full Prospect terminating with a large Landscape of Woods, Waters, Towns, &c." After the entrance of "Cynthias Train," the song, and chorus, there follows "A Dance of Four Swans. To them enter Five green Men, upon which the Swans take Wing and fly up into the Heavens. The green Men dance; which concludes the Act." After some scenes at the Stanmore house, the rehearsal is continued at the end of the second act. With "Wildblood and Stanmore . . . . on the Stage, Tom standing behind 'em," the scene opens; "During a Symphony of Musick, a Palace of Cynthia near Twenty Foot high, appears within the Clouds; supported upon Twelve Pillars of Lapis Lazari; fluted with golden Darts, shafted and plumed with Silver; the Capitals, Bases, and all the Enrichment of the Roof are the Etablature of Silver." After the entrance of the "Court of Cynthia," and the singing of "The Entertainment" by "Nymphs," there follow "A Dance of Eight Figures," and "A Dialogue between Mr. Leveredge and Mrs. Cross," beginning:

Mr. *Leveredge.* In all our Cynthia's shining Sphere,
Methinks the fairest Face is here.
Say, lovely Thing, say what art thou?

Mrs. *Cross.* I came, Sir, from the World below.
I once was mortal Flesh and Blood,
And scarce my Beauties Bloom display'd,
I dropt a tender Virgin-bud
I play'd a Fool and Dy'd a Maid:
For which the Gods have sent me here,
To shine a Star in Cynthia's Sphere.

After the singing of the "Dialogue" and the "Exeunt of Cynthia's Court," Wildblood, Stanmore, and Hayns dress Tom as a prince, and make sport of him as the act closes. More scenes at "Old Stanmore's" house follow in the third act when, near the close, the action shifts again to the third scene of the rehearsal, which is thus introduced: "The Scene draws, and discovers a magnificent Pallace, consisting of Seven Arches, extending near Thirty Foot high, the Pillars of which are white twisted Marble: the Capitals, Bases and Girdles circuled with Foliage, Fruitage, Cupids and Coronets of Gold; the whole entire Roof of all these Arches enriched with Pannels, Mouldings, and carved Flowers of Gold: the Visto continued with a new Order of Dorick Pillars of Egyptian Marble, terminating with a Triumphal Arch." Some clownish by-play is indulged in by Tom, Wildblood, Stanmore, and Hayns, after which "Cynthia's Train" enters, a song is sung, "Two Beaus arise from under the Stage" and dance with "Two Young Ladies," a dialogue is sung by "Mrs. Cross and Mrs. Lucas," Cynthia's train departs, and the act closes with a clownish scene in which Tom, Widow Dawkins, Hayns, Wildblood, and Stanmore have parts. At the beginning of the fourth act, the dull-witted rustic still affords entertainment for the gallants in a scene thus described: "The Scene a Wood, near Thirty Foot high, the Paintings meeting in Circle: all the Side-Pieces and Back-Scene cut through, to see a farther Prospect of a Wood, continued to the Extent of the House. An Imperial Bed appears on the Stage of Crimson Silk, enriched and furled with Gold, and other Ornaments: with a Bed and rich counterpane, Tom lying in it." When the dancers, who now enter, "are interrupted by Thunder," "The Bed and all the Furniture drops under the Stage," and Tom disappears from the play. When Hayns has been congratulated on his successful "Machines" which, he says, "came from France," the scene closes with "A Song sung by Miss ———; set by Mr. Purcel," beginning:

> Young Strephon met me t' other Day,
> And courted me to Toy and Play:
> He talk'd of twenty pretty Things,
> Of Darts, and Flames, and Cupid's Wings.

The remaining scenes of the act are laid at "Old Stanmore's" house, where Sir Dottrel is entertained at the close by Jacintha with "A Marriage-Masque," the setting of which is thus described: "The Scene, An Arborage of Palms and Lawrels, consisting of Nine Arches, environ'd with Flotoons of Flowers, bound with Ribbons of Gold, and held up with Flying Cupids." After the song, beginning,

The Nymphs of the Plain,
And Swains of the Grove
All the whole Noble Train
Of smiling Love,

there follows "An Antick Dance," a pretty song by the "Shepherds," and the principal feature of "The Ceremony of a Nuptial Entertainment" which is sung by "Mrs. Cross, the Bride, and Mr. Leveredge the Bridegroom." When Palmerin has won Jacintha near the end of the fifth act, the rehearsal is then concluded with "Scene the Last," "Cynthia's Bower," "Being a Prospect of Terras Walks on Eight several Stages mounted one above another, each Stage contains a Range of Stonework extending from side to side, decorated with Paintings in Fresco of Heroick History; over each Piece of Painting are carved Rails and Banisters with Pedestals: On Thirty Two Pedestals are planted Sixteen Golden Flower-Pots, and Sixteen Statues of Gods and Goddesses, viz. . . . . Through the Center and advancing Twenty Four Foot high, is an Ascent of Marble Steps. This Sett of Scenes is encompass'd round with Arborage-work, circled round with double Festoons of Flowers tyed up in Ribbons of Gold, terminating at Fifty Foot deep, being the extent of the House, with a Prospect of a Garden above the highest Terras. Above Fifty Figures are seen upon several Terras's, some of which Descend upon the Stage for the Entertainment." After songs by "Mrs. Cross" and "Miss ———" beginning,

Come Strephon, Phyllis come let's troll
A Jovial Hour away.
And whilst the Golden Minutes roll
We'll Sing and Dance, and Play,

there follows "A Grand Dance of Shepherds" and the "Grand Chorus," at the end of which Wildblood praises the *New World in the Moon*, and the piece closes with the "Epilogue Spoke by Miss Dennis Chock, Dress'd . . . . like a Beau" who enters "Singing Part of an Old Tune."

The Virgin Prophetess: or, the Fate of Troy[1] may be called a tragic

[1] The title runs: *The Virgin Prophetess: or, the Fate of Troy. An Opera, Perform'd at the Theatre Royal, By His Majesty's Servants. By E. Settle.*

Rectus Iliacum Carmen deducis in Actus
Quam Si proferres ignota indictaq: primus.
—Horat., *de Art. Poet.*

London: Printed for A. Roper at the Black Boy, and R. Basset at the Mitre, in Fleet-street. 1701.

A second edition of the opera appeared in 1702 as *Cassandra: or, the Virgin Prophetess.* This is really a second impression or reprint with the omission of the Dedication and with a different title-page. The author's name was omitted for com-

opera. As in the cases of *The Fairy Queen* and *The World in the Moon*, the story is made of secondary importance. The action, which begins with the Greeks planning to have the wooden horse conveyed into the city, shifts to Troy in a spectacular scene, in which is seen an enormous chariot twenty feet high bearing Paris and Helen. Two white elephants draw the car, and four others bear each three women and a "Negro Guide." There appears the "procession of Men-singers" who, with the twelve women on the elephants, sing of war and victory. Cassandra becomes the figure of absorbing interest in the second act, the principal scene of which is the "Temple of Diana" with figures of all the gods and goddesses. While the chorus sings, Cassandra talks with the priests and kneels in prayer to Diana. Thunder is heard, "all the Golden Statues of the Goddesses are chang'd from Head to Foot into Black," "Diana descends in a Chariot," and addresses Cassandra, telling her that if some royal virgin offers herself as a sacrifice to "the Grecian Swords" and is killed, Troy shall be saved. While the interest in the next act centers about Paris and Helen in a spectacular scene in which cupids sing and act the chief parts, the action still revolves about the figure of Cassandra. She appears in the fourth act as the messenger from the gods to Paris. As the sister and brother look out over the city, she waves her wand, and the splendid "Prospect" of Troy is changed to "a view of Heav'n, in which the whole Hierarchy of the Heathen Gods" appears; when Paris doubts Cassandra's message, the latter waves her wand again, and there appears a "scene of Hell" with "a Dance of Furies arising from under the Stage." The catastrophe follows rapidly. In the last act "Astianax," Hector's son, who has been reared by Cassandra, dies of poison received in kissing the robes of the golden statue of Diana; the city of Troy with its streets and gates, its statues, turrets, battlements, and towers, all represented in elaborate "scenes," is taken and set on fire by the Greeks, "the Flames breaking forth through all the Windows, and the whole Battlements blazing with one continued Range of Fire"; Menelaus meets and kills Paris, and Helen leaps into the flames from the top of one of the towers. The story is not skilfully handled, the blank verse is not

"The Virgin Prophetess," 1701

mercial reasons, as he was very unpopular. The copy of the play with the changed title does not appear in the British Museum catalogue under Settle's name, and it is referred to in the *Biographia Dramatica* as anonymous.

The songs were published separately in 1701 with the title: *The Musical Entertainments in the Virgin Prophetess; or, the Fate of Troy. A new Opera. Perform'd at the Theatre Royal. Composed by Mr. Finger. London . . . . 1701.* This piece contains all the songs and has, in addition, a long "Bacchanalian Dialogue," and an obscene dialogue between a "Man" and a "Woman."

pleasing, the songs by Finger are not very effective, the comic scenes of the drunken and boisterous Trojan workmen do not interest the modern reader; but as it was presented, with the elaborate scenic display, there is little doubt that the piece was well received,[1] and it is very possible that the low comedy of the mob was quite acceptable to the average theater-goer of Settle's time.

"The Siege of Troy," 1707

The Siege of Troy,[2] a droll in three acts, was adapted from *The Virgin Prophetess*. The serious portions of the original have all been shortened, while the scenes of buffoonery, in which the drunken mob appears, have been considerably lengthened to please the Bartholomew-Fair audience. The piece is perhaps the "most remarkable of the Bartholomew-Fair dramas which found their way into print."[3]

In *The City-Ramble*,[4] a comedy in blank verse and prose, Settle placed

[1] The fact that *The Siege of Troy*, a droll adapted from this play, was popular at Bartholomew Fair during the years from 1707 to 1718, or later, leads one to infer that the original play was not unpopular.

[2] The droll was first presented at Bartholomew Fair in 1707, as is evident from the preface "To the Reader" in the edition of 1715, in which the author states that it was first produced "eight years since in Bartholomew Fair." It was published the same year according to the *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 273, and Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 284 (Morley reproduces about one-fifth of the piece in his book).

The *Biographia Dramatica* (*loc. cit.*) mentions editions for 1708 and 1718, but I believe no one has called attention to the fact that there were editions also in 1715 and 1716. The copy at Harvard is dated "MDCCXV," and the copy in the British Museum, which has no date, was published in 1716, as is evident from the preface "To the Reader" in which the author states, "The Siege . . . . made its first Entry now Nine Years since in Bartholomew Fair." Since the Harvard copy leaves no question that the "first Entry" took place in 1707, the copy in the British Museum is of the 1716 edition and not of the 1707, as catalogued. I did not examine either of the copies in the Bodleian, because at the time I thought the British Museum copy was of the 1707 edition as it is catalogued.

The title-pages to the 1715 and 1716 editions read: *The Siege of Troy. A Dramatic Performance, Presented in Mrs. Mynn's Great Booth, in the Queen's-Arms-Yard near the Marshalsea-Gate in Southwark, during the Time of the Fair. Containing A Description of all the Scenes, Machines, and Movements, with the whole Decoration of the Play, and Particulars of the Entertainment. London: Printed by S. Lee, at the White Swan in West-Smithfield and Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall.*

[3] Chambers, *Book of Days*, II, 265.

[4] The title reads: *The City-Ramble: or, a Play-House Wedding, A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal; by Her Majesty's Company of Comedians.*

Interdum tamen & Vocem Comoedia tollit.—Hor.

London: Printed for Bernard Lintott at the Cross-Keys between the two Temple-Gates, and Egbert Sanger at the Middle-Temple-Gate in Fleet-street (Price 1s. 6d.).

Hazlitt gives the date as 1704; Ward (*History of English Dramatic Literature*,

under contribution *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *The Coxcomb*. From the first he borrowed[1] the two most important features of his play:[2] he uses the device of placing on the stage the "Common-Council-Man" and his wife, whose purpose in coming to the play-house is to criticize the play and reform "the Profaneness and Immorality"[3] of the stage; Don Garcia, Carlo, Lucia, and the count are much the same as Venturewell, Jasper, Luce, and Humphrey, and take part in a story very similar to that in which the latter group appeared. Settle has added to this part of the plot several new features: the merchant's "Factor," Carlo, is assisted in frustrating the father's purpose by a boy who, dressed in girl's clothes, conducts the drunken count to his lodgings and contrives that both are arrested and brought before Don Garcia, in a very amusing scene. In the second story, for which the author was indebted to *The Coxcomb*, he has introduced the characters of Rinaldo (Ricardo of *The Coxcomb*), Viola, Valerio, the "Ruffian and his Trull, Watchmen, Country Girls, &c.," in much the same manner as that in which they appear in Beaumont and Fletcher's play. Settle has articulated this part of the plot with the first story by making Rinaldo and Carlo brothers, and by adding the cousin of Lucia, "The Chevalier Don Garcia," who, only having seen Viola's eyes, indulges the passion of heroic love; since he loves in vain, he divides his vast estates between Lucia and Viola and enters a monastery. There is a third pair of lovers, who serve to give the Common-Council-Man and his wife a vital connection with the

"The City-Ramble"

II, 681), as 1710; but the commonly accepted date of presentation and publication is 1711 (cf. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, II, 482; the *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 106; *Notitia Dramatica*, I, 58). There can be little doubt that 1711 is the correct date.

[1] The verbatim borrowings, all of which are indicated by inverted commas, consist of parts of two speeches from *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, and large portions of six scenes from *The Coxcomb*. Settle's account of his indebtedness is given frankly in the preface "To the Reader": "I must first acknowledge that I set Pen to Paper upon the Recommendation of my good friend Mr. Booth had given me Two of the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, viz. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and *The Coxcomb;* from whence he thought I might borrow some small Foundation, and perhaps some little Fabrick-work toward a Comedy. I took the Hint accordingly; and though from that of the *Burning Pestle* I have made use of no more than the two first Speeches in the Play, and wholly changed the Characters. I have sprinkled something a larger part of the *Coxcomb* through it, chiefly in the Scenes between Rinaldo, Viola, and Valerio. . . . . I have set ["] . . . . before every Line of the Original. . . . ."

[2] Cf. also Genest, *op. cit.*, II, 482–84; Ward, *op. cit.*, II, 681.

[3] There is a distinct ridicule of Collier's *Short View* and of the agitation against Bartholomew Fair (cf. especially the introduction to the piece).

comedy, Jenny, the Common-Council-Man's daughter, and an actor, who is not permitted to marry the girl because of his profession. The actor-lover plays the part of Damon, a swain in love with the shepherdess, Phyllis. It is designed that Jenny shall play the part of the shepherdess; when she is left in the "side-box" by the father and mother who take seats on the stage, an actress, dressed in the daughter's clothes, occupies her place in the box while the latter takes her part in the play. When, during the progress of the piece, the Common-Council-Man learns that Damon is really in love with the actress who plays Phyllis, he is so pleased to find that the two players think seriously of marriage that he unwittingly hastens the wedding and adds his blessing. In handling the Viola-Rinaldo story, Settle has improved it by giving an excuse for Rinaldo's drinking; but the heroic lover cannot be called a pleasing addition. The dialogue is brisk, often sparkling with wit, the plot is well constructed, the action rapid, the comic scenes are enjoyable, and the piece leaves a pleasing impression.

"The Lady's Triumph," 1718

The Lady's Triumph[1] is a domestic comedy into which operatic features have been introduced. In the main thread of the plot, the principal interest is centered in Lady Plotwell, the young bride of the rich old alderman, Sir Cunningham Plotwell. "Sir Charles Traplove, a Man of Intrigue," who loves Lady Plotwell, is encouraged by the object of his passion in his efforts to seduce her. But the wife has let her husband into the secret, and together they devise plots whereby they administer to Traplove severe punishment. When the husband returns unexpectedly from a ride and beats the dust out of his coat, which is spread on a pile of carpet, Sir Charles, who is concealed beneath, receives a hard cudgeling. At another time Traplove hides in a fountain in the garden, and, when the husband starts it to playing, the would-be seducer is almost drowned. The climax of the story is reached when Sir Charles is carried into Plotwell's house in a crate, partially filled with chinaware, by a servant disguised as a pedler. The husband appears on the scene, becomes angry with the pedler, and smashes crate and china, thereby cutting the old intriguer almost fatally. The wife reveals the plot, Sir Charles becomes repentant, begs for mercy, and,

[1] The title reads: *The Lady's Triumph; A Comi-Dramatic Opera: As it is now Perform'd at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields. With all the Entertainment of Musick, and the whole Description of the Scenes and Machinery, &c. London: Printed for J. Browne without Temple-Bar, and W. Harvey at the Receipt of General-Post Letters, within Temple-Bar. 1718. Price 1s.* It is the only one of Settle's dramas published in 12 mo.

Copies are in the British Museum and the Boston Public Library (Barton Collection).

when forgiven, resolves to lead a moral life. In the underplot there is a story very similar to the love-affair between Jacintha and Palmerin Worthy in *The World in the Moon*. Into both the main story and subplot, numerous spectacular and exciting scenes, including a scene in "Bedlam" with a dance of madmen, and instrumental and vocal music[1] are introduced. The principal scenes which heighten the action are the garden with its fountain, in which Sir Charles was punished, and the splendid decorations in Muckland's house for the intended marriage of his daughter to the rich Timothy Lackwit. But the chief operatic features are introduced in "Decius and Paulina, A Masque,"[2] which occupies nearly the entire fifth act and with which Lady Plotwell entertains her friends, who include the captain, his bride, and his father-in-law, Muckland, of the underplot. The pious Paulina, a part played by Lady Plotwell,[3] is loved by Decius, who seeks to seduce her by appearing in "the Temple of Isis" as the god Anubis. When the praying Paulina is seemingly being duped by the deception, she stops the whole affair by exclaiming: "Well, here I think the Story comes to such a Close that the Business may properly end," and directs her husband to conduct the guests to supper. The masque is very elaborate in scene and machine, but the structure is not satisfying and the effect is disappointing. In spite of the introduction of moral teaching, the piece is interesting as far as the end of the fourth act, when the story comes to an end; the plot is well constructed, the action varied, the dialogue witty, and the operatic elements happily introduced.

"The Expulsion of the Danes from Britain"

The Expulsion of the Danes from Britain is the title of a tragedy which is said to have been "offered" to the managers of the theater in Drury Lane "some months before" February, 1724; "but," as the account says, "the death of the author prevented its being acted or printed."[4] The manuscript of the play was apparently lost.

[1] The music for the masque is said (*Biographia Dramatica*, II, 362) to have been written by Mr. Lewis Theobald.

[2] This masque, says Genest (*op. cit.*, II, 633), is "founded on the story of Mundus in Josephus (Book XVIII, chap. iv)."

[3] Four of the players in the masque had no part in the main comedy. Mrs. Thurmond, who acted the part of Lady Plotwell, is the only one who had a part in both the play and masque. The *dramatis personae* of the masque were: "Decius Mundus, Mrs. Barbier; Simo, an attendant, Mr. Leveridge; Paulina, Mrs. Thurmond; Ida, Mr. Pack; Priestess of Isis, Mrs. Fitzgerald."

[4] The *Biographia Dramatica*, II, 209, and I, Part II, 641; Dodsley, *Theatrical Records*, 69; [Chetwood], *The British Theatre*, 97.

POEMS WRITTEN ON OCCASIONS

Since almost all of Settle's occasional poems are written in rhymed heroic verse[1] and are of no great literary value or interest, it is necessary to do little more than mention the titles, which, in most cases, explain the nature of the contents.

But before passing to the list, something should be said concerning the interest of these pieces aside from their literary value. Since most of them were of a personal nature, copies of a great many were bound in special bindings for presentation. In the case of funeral poems it seems to have been the custom, when the work was acceptable, for the family of the deceased member to purchase a large number of copies for distribution among friends.[2] So many copies in these interesting bindings[3] have been preserved that there is, in recent years, almost more interest in them than in the contents of the poems. Cyril Davenport, Esq., F.S.A., who has made a study of Settle's bindings and speaks with authority,[4] says of them:

> They form an interesting and unique group of English bindings, as, although "armorial" bindings are in themselves common enough, this is the only instance in which a particular binder has consistently ornamented a large series of bindings with heraldic designs. In saying this I make exception in the case of Royal binders, but with this reservation, the binder who worked for Elkanah Settle, and by his direction, has left a larger series of English miscellaneous armorial bindings than any other of his trade.

Settle used many lines again and again in his eulogistic poems. When he hit upon what seemed to him a happy figure of speech he introduced it into perhaps a half-dozen different pieces. This repetition is most noticeable in his wedding-poems; in the three of these that I compared carefully two-thirds of the lines are common to all.

The reader will doubtless be struck, as I was, with Settle's lack of

[1] They are all in heroic couplets except several pindaric poems of no special interest. Settle's heroic verse has been discussed. See *ante*, p. 80.

[2] See below under "Honori Sacellum . . . . 1717." It is not likely, however, that these copies which the family gave to their friends were elaborately bound, for I do not think that two identical bindings have been found.

[3] For accounts of specially bound copies, see footnotes under the titles. For much of this information I am indebted to Mr. Davenport.

[4] For a full discussion of these bindings and numerous illustrations of the covers, see the interesting article entitled, "Elkanah Settle, 'City Poet,'" by Cyril Davenport, Esq., F.S.A., in *The Connoisseur* (London), VI, 160–63, 210, 211.

inventiveness in titles. I found, while searching for a complete list of his poems, *Honori* (or *Virtuti*) *Sacellum, Augusta Lacrimans* (or *Triumphans*), etc., recurring so often that, in many instances, I had almost thrown aside the mention of a poem because one of the same title had already been found. The list follows:

Mare Clausum: or a Ransack for the Dutch. May 23, 1666. By E. S. Gent. Licensed, May 30, 1666.[1]

An Elegy on the Late Fire and Ruins of London. By E. Settle. Oxon. 2 sheets. Lond. Fol. 1667.[2]

The Prologue to Cambyses at Oxford, 1672 spoken by Betterton in a riding habit.[3]

An Heroick Poem on the Right Honourable, Thomas Earl of Ossory. London: . . . . MDCLXXXI.

A Panegyrick on the Loyal and Honourable Sir George Jefferies Lord Chief Justice of England. By E. Settle. London, ... 1683.

An Heroick Poem on the Coronation of the High and Mighty Monarch, James II, King of England, &c. By E. Settle. Edinburgh, ... 1685.

To H. Higden, Esq.: on his Modern Way of Translating Juvenal's Tenth Satyr.[4]

A View of the Times. With Britain's Address to the Prince of Orange. A Pindarick Poem. London, ... MDCLXXXIX.[5]

Sacellum Apollinare. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of that Great Patriot and Statesman, George Late Marquis of Hallifax.

Sapiens dominabitur Astris.

London, ... 1695.[6]

[1] This is the first known work of Settle. The only copy that I know of is in the British Museum.

[2] No copy could be found. The title is given in a manuscript note in the copy of Langbaine in the British Museum ("C. 28. g. 1").

[3] This was never included in any edition of the play. It is written in a contemporary hand, and preserved in the Bodleian in "MS. Eng. poet. e. 4."

[4] The title appears in Higden's work which the British Museum catalogue prints thus: "[A Modern Essay on (or rather translation of) the tenth Satyr of Juvenal by H.H.] 1687." The date of Higden's work is not definitely known. The author of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* on Higden, who bases his statements on the British Museum catalogue and the *Biographia Dramatica*, gives the date as 1687; but Oldys' manuscript note in his copy of Langbaine, preserved in the British Museum ("C. 28. g. 1"), gives the date as 1689.

[5] I am indebted for the title to Thomas J. Wise, Esq., London, who possesses the only copy of the poem that I have seen. There is no author's name, but the fact that Settle's name is given as the author in a table of contents, written in a contemporary hand and placed in the volume of folios with which Mr. Wise's copy was bound, causes me to attribute the work to the poet.

[6] Settle's name does not appear on the title-page, but the heavy black lines, the type, and the poem itself are so like many of the poet's pieces that I feel no hesitancy in following the British Museum catalogue in attributing it to him.

Augusta lacrimans, a funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honble Sr Josiah Child Kt &c. Lond. 1699 fol.[1]

Carmen Natalitium. to his Highness the duke of Gloucester an Heroic Poem Lond. 1700 fol.[2]

Threnodium Britannicum. a funeral poem to the Memory of William duke of Gloucester Lond. 1700 fol.[3]

Sacellum Honoris. A Congratulatory Poem. To the Right Honourable the Marquis of Tavistock, on his Happy Return from Travel. By E. Settle.

Τῆς δ' 'αρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν 'εθηκαν.

London: . . . . MDCC.[4]

Minerva Triumphans, The Muses Essay to the honour of that generous foundation the Cotton Library at Westminster, as it is now given by the publick, confirmed by Act of Parliament. . . . . Lond. 1701—fol.[5]

The Scaffold lately executed in Westminster Hall a poem. Lond. 1701—fol.[6]

Carmen Irenicum. The Happy Union of the Two East India Companies. An Heroick Poem. By E. Settle.

vis unita fortior.

London: . . . . 1702.[7]

Spes Hunsdoniana. A Poem on the Anniversary Birthday of the Incomparable youth, Mr. Matthew Bluck, Son and Heir to the Worshipful Matthew Bluck, Esq., of Hunsdon House in Hartfordshire. By E. S. Folio. Printed and Published in London in Hillary Term [Feb.] 1702.[8]

Eusebia Triumphans. Carmen Hannonianis Imperiali Coronae Angliae Successoribus Dicatum. Auctore Elkanah Settle. Londini, Excudit Johannes Nutt, prope Aulam Bibliopolarium, MDCCII.

The English title on the opposite page reads:

[1] No copy is known to be extant. The title is taken from the list of Settle's works, which Rawlinson wrote in one of his notebooks. This is preserved in the Bodleian as "Rawlinson J. 4°3." Hazlitt also mentions the title in his *Bibliographical Collections and Notes . . . .*," second series.

[2] Another title from Rawlinson's list. There is a copy of the work in the John Rylands Library (Manchester).

[3] Title from Rawlinson's list. No copy is known to be extant.

[4] The only copy known to be extant is in the British Museum.

[5] The title is from Rawlinson's list. Hazlitt (*op. cit.*, 3d series) also mentions the work. No copy could be found.

[6] The title is from Rawlinson's list; no copy known to be extant.

[7] Only copy known to exist is in the private library of Mr. John H. Wrenn, Chicago.

[8] The title is from the *Term Catalogues*. The copy of Langbaine in the British Museum ("C. 45. d. 16") has a manuscript note under "Settle" which refers to the work. No copy could be found.

Eusebia Triumphans. The Hannover Succession to the Imperial Crown of England, An Heroick Poem.

Pro aris & focis.

Lond. . . . . MDCCII.

The poem is written in Latin and English on parallel pages, and dedicated "to the Lords and Commons of England." Many copies were very probably bound for presentation.[1]

Eusebia Triumphans . . . . MDCCII.[2]

Eusebia Triumphans—1704 fol.[3]

Augusta lacrimans a funeral Poem to the memory of the Honourable Sr Thomas Crisp Kt. Lond. 1704—fol—for the author.[4]

A Funeral Tear, to the Memory of the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Burlington. By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author. MDCCIV.[5]

Eusebia Triumphans . . . . MDCCV.[6]

Augusta Triumphans. To the Right Hon^ble S^r Thomas Rawlinson, Kt. Lord Mayor. A Congratulatory Poem By E: Settle. City Poet. Anno Domini 1705.[7]

[1] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 25") is bound in brown morocco with what "may be meant for the coat-of-arms of Wales."

[2] The three copies that I have examined of this supposed second edition were printed with the date "MDCCII."; the period was later made into a third "I." The inking was done, very likely, by the author when he wished to send out presentation copies which should appear to be of a new edition. I have compared a copy bearing the date "MDCCII." with one inked so as to appear to be "MDCCIII," and find the two identical in every detail. The inked copies may be of a second impression, but I doubt it. The inked copy in the British Museum is not in a presentation binding, but those at Harvard and Chicago were bound for presentation. The Harvard copy is bound in "old calf with armorial bearings"; the Chicago copy is bound in black morocco with a coat-of-arms in gold on the covers, which probably belonged "to one of the family of Walsh or Welch, of Worcester, England."

[3] Title from Rawlinson's list (*op. cit.*); no copy known to be extant. [As these pages are going through the press, I notice that Trejaskis, London, advertises a copy of this work, which is printed in Latin and English on parallel pages, and bound in "mottled calf, the book panel enclosed by gold-tooled floral border, and bearing the elaborately mantled arms of one of the poet's patrons. . . . ."]

[4] Title from Rawlinson's list (*ibid.*); no copy known to be extant.

[5] The only copy known to be extant is in the Harvard library. No one has referred to such a title so far as I know. The Harvard copy is bound in "old calf with armorial bearings."

[6] This edition has a title identical with the first, and is essentially the same as the first except that a preface of eight pages and about 58 lines, most of which are in praise of Marlborough and Anne, have been added.

[7] This poem was apparently never printed, for the manuscript, written in Settle's own hand, was presented to Rawlinson, bound in a black morocco binding with the Rawlinson arms tooled in gold on the covers. It is the finest specimen of the poet's

Thalia Triumphans to the Hon. Saml. Barker Esq. on his happy marriage a congratulatory Poem Lond. 1706—fol.[1]

One of the five poems of the same title which the poet prepared for wedding-occasions. Of the four copies extant, three are in private collections.[2]

Fears and Dangers, Fairly Display'd: Being a New Memorial of the Church of England. London, Printed for the Author. 1706.[3]

Augusta Triumphans. Ramilly and Turin, or a Hymn to victory in a Panegyrical address to the Honourable City of London on the occasion of the Trophies fixed in Guildhall. An Heroick Poem—Lond. printed for the author 1707 fol. & dedicated to the Honourable Subscribers to the loan of 250 000—(?) to the Emperour of Germany.[4]

Carmen Irenicum. Imperialium Magnae Britanniae Coronarum Unio. Auctore Elkanah Settle. Anno Domini: MDCCVII.

The English title is:

Carmen Irenicum. The Union of the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain. An Heroick Poem. London, Printed by J. Brudenell in Little-Britain, for the Author. MDCCVII.

This piece has a dedication to the queen and also one "To the Patriots of Great Britain." The double dedication enabled the poet to present specially bound copies to the queen as well as to many noblemen.[5]

Virtuti Sacellum: A Funeral Poem, To the Pious Memory Of the Honourable Sir Robert Clayton, K^t.

vivit post Funera Virtus.

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author, MDCCVII.[6]

Carmen Irenicum . . . . MDCCVIII.[7]

This is a reprint of the edition published in 1707. The two are identical except that the latter contains at the bottom of the title-page, "Printed for the Author," whereas the first edition reads, "Printed by J. Brudenell . . . . for the Author."

autograph remains. See account of the work *ante*, p. 45. It is preserved in the Bodleian as "Rawlinson B. 361."

[1] Title from Rawlinson's list (*op. cit.*).

[2] See *Thalia Triumphans*, 1715 and 1720.

[3] For a brief discussion see *ante*, pp. 34, 72.

[4] Title from Rawlinson's list (*op. cit.*). I found no other reference to the work.

[5] The copies in the British Museum with special bindings are: "C. 67. f. 12," "with the arms of Medlicott and Moore"; "C. 75. h. 16," a splendid copy on very large folios, bound in red morocco "with English and Scottish coats impaled; made for Queen Anne"; "C. 66. f. 8," in black morocco, gilt, paneled sides with large coat-of-arms in center ("Walters?") and "arms of England and Scotland at angles. g. e."; "C. 67 f. 13," "with loyal design."

[6] The copy in the British Museum is bound up with eight others of Settle's poems in black morocco covers on which are stamped in gold "the arms of Wythe impaling Woolfe."

[7] This is another instance in which the dates were changed by inking the period into another "I."; at least such is the case in the Chicago copy of this poem. The Harvard

"Honori Sacellum a funeral poem to the memory of William duke of devonshire obiit decimo octavo die augusti anno 1707—Lond. 1707 fol."[1]

Threnodium Apollinare. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Henry Hare Baron of Colerane.

. . . . Mors sola fateatur
Quantula sunt Hominum corpuscula. . . . .

By E. Settle. London, ... 1708.[2]

Threnodium Apollinare. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of Dr. Edward Tyson. Late Physician to the Hospitals of Bethlehem and Bridewell.

. . . . Mors sola fateatur
Quantula sunt Hominum corpuscula. . . . .

By E. Settle. London, ... 1708.[3]

"Memoriae Fraganti. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable The Lady Viscountess Fitzharding. . . . .

Vivit post Funera Virtus.

London, ... 1708."[4]

Musa Triumphans. To His Grace the duke of Newcastle on the happy recovery of the Lady Henrietta Holles, a Congratulatory Poem. Lond. 1708 fol.[5]

Augusta Lacrymans. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable S^r^ Charles Thorald, K^t.^ By E. Settle, City Poet. London, ... 1709.[6]

Virtuti Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable S^r^ John Buckworth, K^t.^ and B^t.^

. . . . Mors sola fateatur
Quantula sunt Hominum corpuscula. . . . .

By E. Settle, City Poet. London, ... 1709.[7]

Eusebia Triumphans . . . . MDCCIX.[8]

This is identical in every respect with the first edition, except that 192 lines have been added to this edition.

copy is "bound in dark morocco with panel design in gilt"; the Chicago copy is bound in black morocco, with large coat-of-arms "of Sir Richard Howe, Baronet, who died in 1730, or of his father, also Sir Richard."

[1] Title from Rawlinson's list (*op. cit.*). I found no other reference to the piece.

[2] Copy in the British Museum.

[3] Copies in the British Museum.

[4] Copy in the British Museum.

[5] Title from Rawlinson's list. No other reference found.

[6] Copy in the British Museum ("C. 67. f. 16"); the finest copy is in the Guildhall. This is bound in black morocco, gilt, paneled sides, and bears the coat-of-arms of Thorald (?) stamped in gold.

[7] Copy in the British Museum ("C. 67. f. 16").

[8] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 23") is bound in black morocco, gilt, paneled sides, with the "arms of Fiennes" tooled in the covers.

Honori Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable Henry Thynne, Esq.:

. . . . Mors sola fateatur
Quantula sunt Hominum corpuscula. . . . .

London, ... 1709.[1]

Thalia Lacrimans. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honoured Lytton Lytton Esq; By E. Settle.

. . . . Spes unica, tune
Perdenda es. . . . .

London, 1710.[2]

Eusebia Triumphans . . . . MDCCXI.[3]

This is, except for the Dedication, identical with the edition of 1705.

A Pindaric Poem on the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. A Work of Piety So Zealously Recommended and Promoted By Her Most Gracious Majesty.

Christo Duce, & Auspice Christo.

London, Printed for the Author, MDCCXI.

The author's name is not printed in the work, but the nature of the dedication to the queen, the general style of the piece, and the binding[4] leave little doubt that the poem is Settle's work.

Augusta Triumphans. To the Lietuenancy of the Honourable City of London. A Congratulatory Poem. London, ... 1711.[5]

Honori Sacellum. A Funeral Poem, to the Memory of the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Coventry.

. . . . Tantaene animis coelestibus irae.

By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author, 1712.[6]

[1] Copy in the British Museum ("C. 67. f. 16" [4]).

[2] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 20") is bound in black morocco, the covers bearing "the arms of Lytton quartering."

[3] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 67. f. 15") is bound in "black sheep," the covers bearing "the arms of Dowdeswell impaling Cock."

[4] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 24") is bound in calf "with the arms of Williamson impaling Bushell" on the covers. There is a copy of the poem in the library of Harvard University.

[5] The only copy known to be extant is in the library of the Corporation of the City of London (Guildhall). This copy is bound in brown morocco, and bears on its covers the arms of the City of London. It is a particularly interesting specimen of Settle's presentation copies, since it shows that in some of his works, at least, the author had printed, before the title-page, a special dedicatory page, the top of which had been left blank so that the name of the person to whom the copy was presented might be worked in by hand. This particular copy shows on the dedicatory page the words "To the Worthy John Amy, Esq.," which were worked in letter by letter. The author's name appears at the end of the Dedication.

[6] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 18") is a fine specimen of Settle's bindings in red morocco "with the arms of the Earl of Coventry" on the covers.

Augusta Lacrimans. A Funeral Poem, to the Memory of the Honoured Charles Baynton Esq;

. . . . Virtus post Funera vivit.

By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author, 1712.[1]

Augusta Lacrimans. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable Sir Henry Furnesse Kt. and Baronet.

. . . . vivit post Funera Virtus.

By E. Settle, City Poet. London, Printed for the Author, 1712.[2]

Threnodia Apollinaris. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of Dr. Martin Lister, Late Physician to Her Majesty.

. . . . mors sola fateatur
Quantula sunt hominum corpuscula.

By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author, 1712.[3]

Irene Triumphans. Carmen Gratulatorium A Musâ Britannicâ In Pacem Sancitam, Excellentiae Suae Praenobili Duci D'Aumont Regis Christianissimi Legato, &c. Humillime Dicatum. Londini, Anno 1713.

The English title reads:

Irene Triumphans. The British Muse's Congratulatory Poem on the Peace Humbly Addrest to His Excellency the Most Noble Duke of D'Aumont; Embassador from the Most Christian King, &c.

. . . . Ferrea primùm
Desinet, & toto surget Gens Aurea Mundo.—Virg.

London, Printed for the Author. 1713.[4]

Irene Triumphans. Carmen Gratulatorium. A Musa Britannica in Pacem Sancitam, Pacificis Humillimé Dicatum.

Londini, Anno 1713.

The English title reads:

Irene Triumphans. The Address of the British Muse to the Peace-Makers. An Heroick Poem. By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author. 1713.[5]

This piece is identical with that of similar title, dedicated to D'Aumont, except that this has a dedication while the other contains none, and the last two stanzas are slightly changed.

[1] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 19") is said (manuscript note over title-page) to have been presented "to the Brit. Museum by G. C. Gorham [to whom this copy descended from the Baynton's], Decr 1838." A manuscript note on the fly-leaf states: "Arms of Bainton impaled with those of Dennis on the Covers of this book." Mr. Davenport thinks that the coat-of-arms is that "of Baynton impaling Keenlyside."

[2] The only copy preserved is in the Guildhall. It is splendidly bound in black morocco with the arms of Furnesse (?) in gold.

[3] Copy in the British Museum ("11631. f. 39").

[4] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 15") is bound in morocco with the "arms of Woolfe" on the covers. The Latin and English are printed on parallel pages, as in the *Carmen Irenicum*.

[5] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 64. f. 5") is bound in morocco; the arms and book-plate are those "of the Earl of Loudon."

Memoriae Fragranti. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable L^dy Margaret Woolfe. By E. Settle City Poet. London, Printed for the Author, 1713.[1]

Augusta lacrimans a funeral poem to the Memory of the Honourable Sr W^m Hodges Bart. Lond. 1714—fol.[2]

Thalia Lacrimans. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Baptist Earl of Gainsborough.

Quantula sunt Hominum Corpuscula. . . . .

By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author, 1714.[3]

Virtuti Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Hedges, Kt. London, Printed for the Author, 1714.[4]

Augusta Triumphans. A Congratulatory Poem to the Lieutenancy of the Honourable City of London. By E. Settle, City Poet. London, Printed Anno 1714.[5]

Poem on the Marriage of Lord Dunkellin. Lond. 1714.[6]

Eusebia Triumphans.[7] Carmen Gratulatorium Auspicatissimae Inaugurationi Hanoveranae Successionis, in Augustimo Principe, Georgio, Dei Gratia, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae & Hiberniae, Rege, &c. Londini Anno M,DCC,XV.

The English title reads:

Eusebia Triumphans. To the Most Happy Inauguration of the Hanover Succession in the Most August Prince, George, By the Grace of God, Of

[1] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 17") is bound in morocco, gilt, paneled sides, with the "arms of Woolfe impaling Marsh" on the covers.

[2] Title from Rawlinson's list ("Rawlinson J. 4°3").

[3] The copy in the British Museum ("G. 19057") is bound in black morocco with the arms of the earl of Gainsborough on the covers. It contains "the book-plate of the Rt. Hon. Dorothy Countess of Gainsborough."

[4] The only extant copy known is in the Guildhall. It is bound in black morocco with paneled sides, and bears the arms of Hedges (?) on the covers. An autograph letter from Settle, addressed very likely to the brother of Sir Charles Hedges, is preserved in this copy.

[5] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 21") is in a calf binding, bearing the arms of ——— (?).

[6] No copy known to be extant. The only reference to such a piece, that I have seen, is in Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*), who adds, "folio with decorated borders Bindley, Pt. III, 1038, 8*s*."

[7] The only copy known to be extant is in the library of the University of Chicago. The binding is calf; the covers, double paneled in gold, contain in the center two angels and a crown, with a dove just beneath.

There is a reference in *Notes and Queries* (Series III, Vol. IV, p. 394) to a copy of this poem bound in "purple morocco" with the arms of Stanhope.

Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, &c. A Congratulatory Poem. With the Addition of a New Postscript upon the Present Face of Affairs.

Pro Aris & Focis.

London, Printed, Anno M,DCC,XV.

The Preface of six pages is of an argumentative nature, written against the claims of "The Old Pretender." The work is dedicated to "George Prince of Wales, &c."

Thalia Triumphans. To the Worthy Mr. William Westfield on His Happy Marriage. A Congratulatory Poem.

Non fragrat nisi flagrat Amor.

By E. Settle. London: . . . . MDCCXV.[1]

This is the earliest extant specimen of Settle's elaborately bound wedding-poems. These were first printed on one side of single sheets; when the margins had been cut down close to the printed lines, the pages were then "laid" upon large folios (11×15 inches) which had been decorated with border-designs of flowers and cherubs, tooled in gold.[2] The covers bore panel-designs similar to those on the inside, and had, besides, either two angels and a dove in the center, or the coat-of-arms of the family to whom the poem was presented.

Rebellion Display'd: or, Our Present Distractions Set forth in their True Light. An Heroick Poem.

Eu quò Discordia Cives
Perduxit Miseros . . . .

By E. Settle London, printed for the Author, 1715.

This was written during the struggle between the Whigs and Tories for government leadership, and is directed against the friends of the "Old Pretender." This piece, which is one of the best of Settle's occasional poems, closes thus:

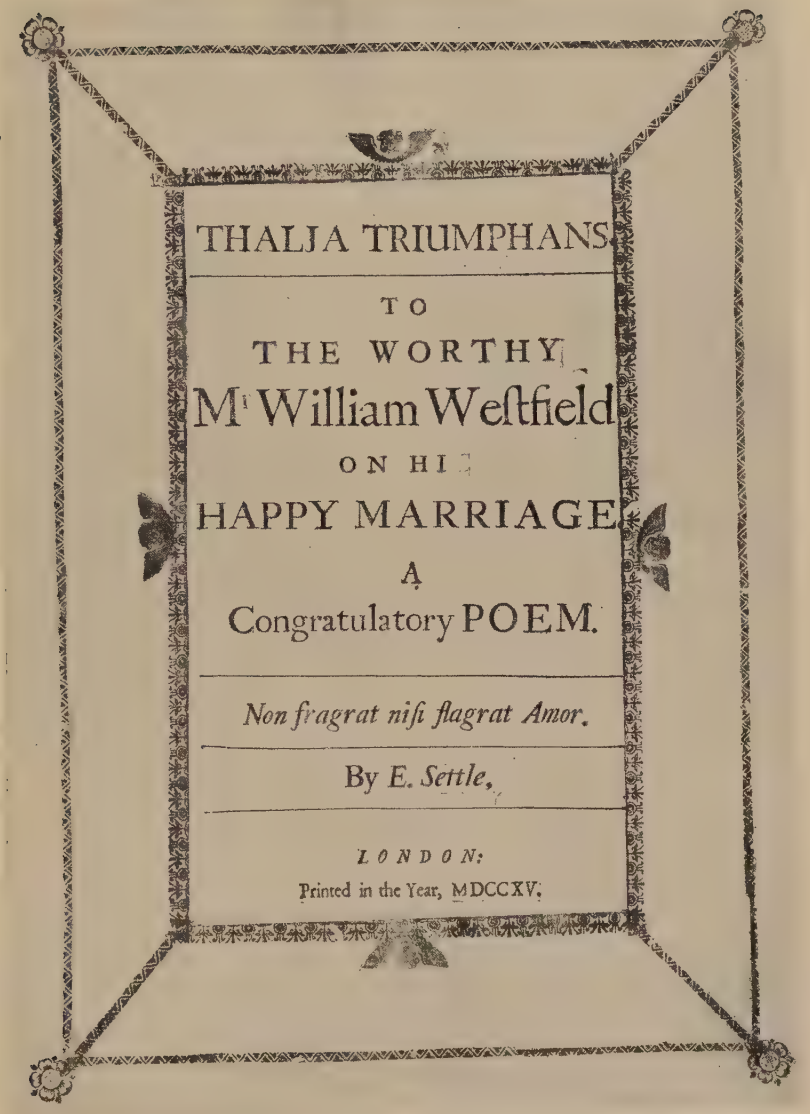
"Should He, (forbid it Heaven!) rais'd by such Swords
Ascend the Throne: Beneath our new French Lords,
Adieu t' our Altars, Liberties and Laws,
When ALBION such inglorious Fetters draws.
What ghastly Horrors t' a true English Birth
Does ev'n this visionary Scene set forth!
No, rowze yet *freeborn* BRITONS, rowze and turn
To your Third EDWARD's and Fifth HENRY's Urn.
Let ev'n those HEROES dead Your Souls inspire
With that true British animating Fire,
To scorn so poor a Yoke, and boldly brave,
From such Invaders your dear Country save."

Augusta lacrimans a funeral Poem to the memory of the honour'd Caesar Chambrelan (?) Esq. Lond. printed for the author 1716—fol.[3]

[1] The copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. i. 7") is the only specimen of these wedding-poems not in private collections.

[2] A photographic reproduction of the title-page of the copy in the British Museum appears opposite this page.

[3] A title from Rawlinson's list (MS "Rawlinson J. 4°3" [fol. 407] in the Bodleian).



TITLE-PAGE OF ONE OF THE WEDDING-POEMS
(See pp. 109, 118, 120)

[The decorated borders, in gold, were worked in by hand. One can see where the printed sheet was trimmed down before it was "laid" on the blank space within the borders, for portions of the periods were cut off, and, on the left side, a faint line shows the edge of the sheet.]

Poems on the Marriage of Mr. T. Ironmonger. Lond. 1716.[1]

Honori Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honoured Clement Pettit, Esq; Of the Isle of Thanet, in the County of Kent. By E. Settle.

. . . . Cum Virtus Occidit Orbi
In Coelis oritur.

London, Printed for the Author, 1717.[2]

The extant copy of this piece is especially interesting since it contains a long manuscript note in a very old hand (on the fly-leaf) which, besides criticizing the Pettit family, gives us the information that, when a funeral poem was acceptable to a family, many copies were purchased for presentation among the friends of the deceased member: "Nothing could Shew the pride, vanity and Ill tast of the family more, than by Suffering this poor poem to be printed and bound up in this manner; and given away to friends relations &c."

A Poem on the Birth-Day Of his most Sacred Majesty King George. Humbly Presented to Sir Clement Cottrell, Knt. Master of Ceremonies.

. . . . Male nominatis
Parcite verbis.
Hic dies, vere mihi festus, atras
Eximet curas; ego per tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Caesare terras.—Hor.

London: . . . . for the Author. MDCCXVII.[3]

A Poem on the Birth-Day Of Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales. Most humbly Presented to the Lady Cottrell. London, Printed for the Author. MDCCXVII.[3]

The Eucharist. Or the Holy Sacrament of Our Lord's Supper. A Divine Poem. Majora Canamus. By E. Settle. London, Printed for the Author, 1717.[4]

[1] I found no reference to it except that in Lowndes (*Bibliographer's Manual*). He adds: "fol. with decorated borders. Bindley, Pt. III. 1448, 10s." This may be another elaborately bound *Thalia Triumphans.*

[2] What seems to be the only extant copy is in the Bodleian ("Malone F. ii. 20"). This is bound in black morocco, and the covers, paneled in gold, bear the arms of Pettit (?).

[3] The only copies of these pieces that I have seen are in the collection of John H. Wrenn, Esq., Chicago. Concerning the authorship of them Thomas J. Wise, Esq., says: "I have twice seen these Folios bound up in old volumes of Eighteenth Century Poetry, with a list of the contents in a contemporary hand. Upon both these occasions the name of 'Settle' was attached to them." Both pieces are entered as Settle's in Colonel Grant's corrected copy of Halkett and Laing's *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain.*

[4] What seems to be the only extant copy of this work is in the library of the University of Chicago. This is bound in red morocco, paneled covers, bearing the arms of "Sacheverell or Cheverell, of Nottingham, England." The poem is mentioned in

Augusta Lacrimans a funeral Poem to the memory of the Honourable Sr James Bateman Kt Lond. printed for the author 1718—fol.[1]

Augusta Lacrimans. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Honourable Sir Daniel Wray, Kt.

. . . . Virtus occidit Orbi,
In Coelis oritura . . . .

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author, 1719.[2]

Threnodia Apollinaris. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison, Esq;

. . . . Virtus occidit Orbi,
In Coelis oritura. . . . .

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author, 1719.[3]

Thalia Triumphans: A Congratulatory Poem to the Honourable Sir Fran. Hen. Drake, Bt. on his Happy Marriage.

Non fragrat nisi flagrat Amor.

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author.[4]

This poem is exactly the same as *Thalia Triumphans* of 1715 except that about thirty-two lines, which referred to the families of Westfield and Godfrey in the poem of 1715, have been changed so as to laud the families of Drake and Heathcote.

Thalia Triumphans: A Congratulatory Poem. To the Honoured John Watts, Esq. On His Happy Marriage.

Non fragrat nisi flagrat Amor.

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author, 1720.[5]

Thalia Triumphans. A Congratulatory Poem To the Honoured John Green, Esq; On His Happy Marriage.

Non fragrat nisi flagrat Amor.

By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author.[6]

Settle's letter to the Earl of Oxford (see *ante*, p. 48), but I know of no other reference to it. A second edition was published in 1721 in quarto. A copy of this (the only one I have seen) is also in the library of the University of Chicago.

[1] Title from Rawlinson's list (*op. cit.*). No extant copy found.

[2] Copy in the British Museum ("11630. f. 69").

[3] Copy in the British Museum ("11630. ff. 1").

[4] The presentation copy of this poem, which is bound in a similar manner to the other wedding-poems extant, is in the possession of Rev. Thomas Hervy, M.A., F.C.P.S., who published the poem in *Some Unpublished Papers Relating to the Family of Sir Francis Drake* in 1887.

[5] The presentation copy of this poem, bound in reddish-brown morocco, with its covers decorated in gold and sheets with border-designs, is in the private library of Thomas J. Wise, Esq., London, and is one of the most beautiful of all of Settle's bindngs. No other copy is known to be extant.

[6] The poem bears no date, nor is there, so far as I can find, any reference to the work. I had not heard of the piece until I saw the fine presentation copy in the private

Virtuti Sacellum. A Funeral Poem to the Memory of the Right Honourable John Earl of Dundonald. By E. Settle. London: Printed for the Author, 1720.[1]

Honori Sacellum a funeral Poem to the memory of the Honourable S[r] John Shaw Bart. late Collector of the Port of London—Lond. 1721—fol.[2]

Muses Address to the Earl of Burlington. Lond. 1722.[3]

Threnodia Britannica a funeral Oblation to the memory of the most noble Prince John duke of Marlborough Lond. 1722—fol.[4]

library of Mr. John H. Wrenn, Chicago. Since there were two others in 1720, I place this one here as a mere guess. This copy, bound in red morocco, is the best preserved of all of Settle's bindings, and is the most gaily ornamented. It is the only copy which I have seen that contains decorations on the inside sheets in colors. The covers bear, besides the border-designs, the arms of Green (?).

[1] The presentation copy in the British Museum ("C. 66. f. 16") is bound in black morocco "with the arms of the Earl of Dundonald" stamped in gold on the covers. On the fly-leaf is a manuscript note in the "countess' hand": "Anne Cochrane my book sent me from London by Mr. E. Settle of the 16 of Nov[br-] 1720."

[2] Title from Rawlinson's list (*u.s.*).

[3] Lowndes (*op. cit.*) mentions this title and adds: "fol. inlaid with painted borders. Bindley, Pt. III, 1443, £1 18*s*." This was perhaps another wedding-poem.

[4] Title from Rawlinson's list ("MS. Rawlinson J. 4°3"). This must be the poem to which Oldys refers in a manuscript note in his edition of Langbaine (in the British Museum): "There is in print Settle's Elegy on the duke of Marlborough 4° 1722."

CITY PAGEANTS[1]

As city poet, Settle was employed to devise pageants for all the lord mayors' shows from 1691 to 1708. Since most of these works are discussed quite fully in Fairholt[2] and Nichols, I give the list, for the most part, without much comment.

The Triumphs of London, Performed on Thursday, Octob. 29, 1691. for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Stamp Kt; Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing a true description of the several Pageants, with the Speeches spoken on each Pageant. All set forth at the proper Costs and Charges of the Worshipful Company of Drapers. By E. S.[3] London, ... 1691.[4]

The Triumphs of London. Performed on Saturday, Octob. 29. 1692. For the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir John Fleet, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A True Description of the Several Pageants; with the Speeches Spoken on each Pageant. All set forth, at the proper Costs and Charges[5] of the Worshipful Company of Grocers. Together, with An Exact Relation of the most Splendid Entertainments, prepared for

[1] For an account of the pope-burning pageants, see *ante*, pp. 61–63.

[2] *Lord Mayors' Pageants* (*Percy Society Publications*, Vol. X).

[3] The dedications are signed "E. Settle."

[4] The copy examined for this work is in the British Museum ("605. C. 12 [10]"). There are copies also in the Bodleian, the Guildhall, and Harvard University library.

[5] "EXTRACT FROM QUIRES OF WARDENS ACCOUNTS OF THE GROCERS COMPANY, DATED JULY, 1692, TO JULY, 1693

'Payments for the Lord Mayors Day

1692		
October 31	Paid 34 Staffemen for yt day at 2/6 a pecce and 2/6 to drink	£ 4: 7: 6
	Paid 2 Trumpetts for yt day No 7 fol. 79	1:10:—
	Paid a per of Oares for ye Mar of Defence yt day	: 5:—
Novr 2nd	Paid ye Mar of Defence and 8 men No 2 fol. 28	3:10 —
	Paid ye ffoot Marshall & 4 men No 3 fol. 18	3:10:—
	Paid ye Drum Major Genll for 4 Drums & Fife No 21 fo. 18	6:—:—
	Paid to 2 Drums for ye Barge No 5 fol 48	1:—:—
" 12	Paid ye City Marshalls for yt day fol 6 No 79	2:—:—
" 31	Paid ye Clerke of ye Companie soe much allowance by Commee	6:—:—
Decr 6th	Paid Elkanor Settle Poett No- fol-	2: 3: 6
13	Paid Stephen Mathewes for disbursements on ye Barge No 9 fol 79	9:10:—
24	Paid Mr Thompson and Mr. Holmes in pt for 2 Pageants No 10 fol 80	33:—:—
27	Paid them more in full for ye sd Paget No 11 fol 80	67:—:—
	Paid for wine for ye Ffoynes & Budge Bachelors	3:—:—
Jan. 18	Paid Mrs. Edwards in full for Ribbons No 13 fol 87	9:12:—
	Paid Mr Wallis Herrald Painter for Sir John Fleets Streamers	6:—:—
		£158: 8:—' "

"THE AMPHITHEATRE OF UNION"
(First Pageant, *Glory's Resurrection*, 1698) (See p. 124)

the Reception of Their Sacred Majesties. By E. S. Published by Authority. London, ... 1692.[1]

The Triumphs of London. Performed on Monday, Octob. 30th 1693. For the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir William Ashurst, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A True Description of the several Pageants. All set forth at the proper Costs and Charges of the Worshipful Company of Merchant-Taylors. Together with the Festival Songs for His Lordship and Companions Diversion. By E. S.[2] Published by Authority. London, ... 1693.[3]

The Triumphs of London. Prepared for the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Lane, Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A full Description of the Pageants, Speeches, Songs, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on Monday the 29 of October, 1694. Set forth at the proper Costs and Charges of the Worshipful Company of Cloth workers. Published by Authority. London, ... 1694.[4]

The Triumphs of London. Performed on Tuesday, Octob. 29, 1695. For the Entertainment of the Right Honourable Sr. John Houblon, Kt Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing a True Description of the several Pageants; with the Speeches spoken on each Pageant. All prepared at the proper Costs and Charges of the Worshipful Company of Grocers. To which is added, A New Song upon His Majesty's Return. By E. S. Published by Authority. London, ... 1695.[5]

There were only three pageants in this show. The first, called "Fame," had as its central figure a camel (as in that for 1692) around which were grouped "Justice," "Mercy," "Equity," and "Law." The chief interest centers in "Fame" who rides the camel and delivers the address to the Mayor. The second pageant, called "The Chariot of Victory," represented a car drawn by "Griffons," on whose backs were seated "Asia and America, as being those parts of the World whence Spicery and other Grocery are Imported." "Victory" is seated in the chariot, and addresses the Mayor. The last is called "the Plantation Pageant." St. Anthony, the central figure, is attended by "India," "Persia," and "Arabia," while "Negroes are shown and Tauneys, Virginia-Planters, &c." After St. Anthony's speech, the outdoor ceremony closes with "A Song," and the guests retire to the banquet.[6]

[1] Both the copies in the British Museum and the Guildhall were examined. There is a copy also in the Bodleian. A very good account of the piece is given in Fairholt (*op. cit.*).

[2] The dedications in the work for 1693, as well as in those for 1694 and 1695, are signed "E. Settle."

[3] I could find no copy except that in the British Museum. Fairholt states that he could find no copy; he quotes a description of this pageant from Herbert (*History of the Livery Companies*).

[4] Copies in the British Museum and the Guildhall.

[5] Copies in the British Museum and the Bodleian.

[6] I have included this description, because Fairholt had "not been able to consult" the copy.

There were no shows until 1698. The revival brought forth a new title:

Glory's Resurrection; Being the Triumphs of London Revived, For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir Francis Child, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing The Description (and also the Sculptures)[1] of the Pageants, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of Goldsmiths. Published by Authority. London: . . . . 1698. Price Six Pence.[2]

After the dedications to the Lord Mayor and the Company of Goldsmiths, the piece begins with "The Procession and whole Solemnity as follows; perform'd on Saturday October 29th, 1698," which describes the habits and order of marching of the "Master," "Wardens," "Foins Batchelors," "Gentlemen Ushers," etc.[3] There were four pageants. The first, called "The Amphitheatre of Union," consisted of a "Large Fabrick, design'd after the Corinthian Order, elevated with four Marble Columns fluited with Gold. . . . ." "Union" is seated in the middle "of all this Noble Building, on a Quadrangular Seat," attended by "the Graces," "Piety, Harmony, and Diligence with the Ensigns and Banners of the Company's Arms." After Union's speech, there follows the second pageant, "The Goldsmith's Laboratory," consisting of a "Large and Spacious Work-shop of several Artificers. . . . ." "In the middle of this Laboratory . . . . is seated St. Dunstan, the ancient Patron and Guardian of the Company, array'd in his Pontifical Ornaments . . . . ; and under his Feet lies the Devil. On each side . . . . is plac'd Apollo and Esculapius his Son," and there are shown all manner of tools, precious metals, and jewels, and workmen "at the Forge" who sing and keep "Time on the Anvil." During St. Dunstan's speech to the Lord Mayor, the "Devil" interrupts by asking, "Can you speak Truth?" St. Dunstan "[Catches him by the Nose]," saying:

> "Down to thy Hell, there croak, thou Fiend accurst,
> See this great Day, and swell'd with Envy, burst."

The third pageant, "A Triumphant Chariot of Gold," has for its central figure, "Astrae, the Goddess of Justice, in a long Robe of Silver, a Crimson Mantle fringed with Silver, a Veil of Silver fringed with Gold . . . . ," holding "in her Right Hand a Touchstone; in her Left a Golden Ballance with Silver Scales." Around the central figure are grouped Charity, Concord, and Truth who guides "the Chariot." The car is drawn by "two Unicorns," on the backs of which are seated "two beautiful Young Princes, one a Barbarian, the other an European, sounding the Fame of . . . . the . . . Company. . . . ." The fourth pageant, "The Temple of Honour," contains the figure of "Honour," attended by "Peace, Plenty, and Liberality," at whose feet "are laid the four Principal Rivers of Trade, as Tiber, Nile, Danube, and Thames." After the speech by "Honour," and the "Song," the piece closes with the directions concerning the march to Guildhall.

[1] These were four in number, illustrating the four pageants. For photographic reproductions, see illustrations opposite pp. 122, 123, 124, 125.

[2] Copies in the British Museum and Guildhall. "A copy," says Fairholt (*Lord Mayors' Pageants*), "was sold at Bindley's sale, Dec. 17, 1808, and purchased by Mr. Triphook for £4. *s*14. *d*6."

[3] The trip to Westminster was made by water. See account of the trip in *London Gazette*, October 31.

"THE GOLDSMITH'S LABORATORY"
(Second Pageant, *Glory's Resurrection*, 1698) (See p. 124)

"A TRIUMPHANT CHARIOT OF GOLD"
(Third Pageant, *Glory's Resurrection*, 1698) (See p. 124)

The Triumphs of London. For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir Richard Levett, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing a Description of the Pageants, together with the Publick Speeches, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on Monday the 30th Day of October, Anno 1699. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of Haberdashers. Published by Authority. London: . . . . MDCXCIX.[1]

The Triumphs of London, For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Abney, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A Description of the Pageants, together with the Publick Speeches and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on Tuesday the 29th of October, 1700. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of Fishmongers. Published by Authority. London: . . . . 1700.[2]

The Triumphs of London, For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir William Gore, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A Description of the Pageants, together with the Publick Speeches, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed on Wednesday the 29th of October, 1701. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of Mercers. Published by Authority. London: . . . . 1701.[3]

The Triumphs of London, At the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir Samuel Dashwood, Kt. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing A description of the Pageants, the Speeches, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Perform'd on Thursday the 29th of October. All set forth at the Cost and Charge[4] of the Honourable Company of Vintners. Together with

[1] Copies in the British Museum and Guildhall.

[2] Copy in the Guildhall.

[3] Copies in the Guildhall and the Bodleian.

[4] The books of the Vintners' Company read:

"An account of the Disbursem^TS for the Tryumph on the Lord Mayors Day for S^R Samuel Dashwood Knight, Lord Mayor of the City of London Ano—Dm^E 1703.

	£	s	d
Paid Mr. Holmes	212	18	0
Paid Mr. Settle the Poet	11	1	6
Paid Capt. Newton	60	0	0
Paid Mr. John Cannon	74	18	6
Paid for Wooden Dishes		4	6
Paid the 68 Poor Men	3	8	0
Paid at the Kingshead		19	6
Paid the Serjeant Trumpett	19	7	0
Paid the Queen's Drumes	7	10	0
Paid Mr. Waldron for Pikes and Staves	4	6	0
Paid Mr. John Hardin, Master of Defence	3	10	0
Paid Mr. North for the City Drumes	3	0	0
Paid Mr. Ashley foot Marshall	3	10	0
Paid James Sudall the City Waites	2	0	0
Paid the City Marshall	2	0	0
Paid Mr. Thomas Field	13	15	0
Paid for 27 Gall. of Clarett for the Pageants	8	2	0
To Mr. Daniel Tayler	21	4	0"

the Relation of Her Majesty's Reception[1] and Entertainment at Dinner in Guild-hall. Publish'd by Authority. London: . . . . 1702.[2]

The Triumphs of London For the Inauguration of the Right Honourable Sir Charles Duncombe, Knight. Lord Mayor of the City of London. Containing the Description (and also the Sculptures)[3] of the Pageants, and the whole Solemnity of the Day. Performed[4] on Friday the 29th of October, Anno 1708. All set forth at the proper Cost and Charge of the Honourable Company of Goldsmiths. Published by Authority. London, ... 1708.[5]

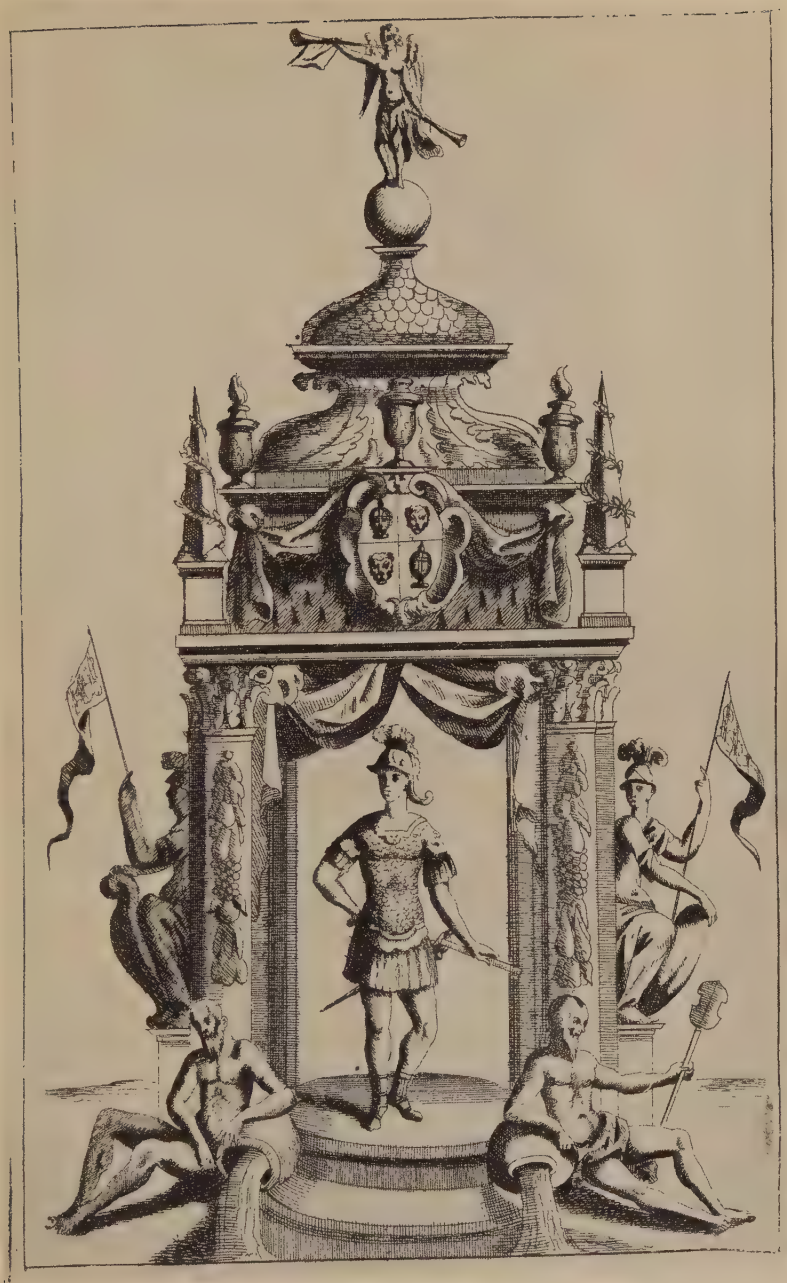
[1] For an account of Queen Anne's visit, see Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants* (under "1702").

[2] Copy in the Guildhall.

[3] The piece contains three "sculptures" to represent the three pageants. The first, "The Temple of Apollo," is the same as the first cut in the 1698 pageants except for a slight change in the central figure—"Apollo" is substituted for "Honour"; the second and third are the same as those used in 1698, which are reproduced opposite pp. 123, 124. Since these pageants were for the Goldsmiths' Company as in 1698, the cuts were appropriate.

[4] "The pageantry invented for this occasion was never displayed. Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, died on the 28th of October, the day before its intended exhibition, and Sir Charles Duncombe entered upon his mayoralty without any display. The descriptive pamphlet was published in readiness before the day, as usual."—Fairholt, *Lord Mayors' Pageants*, 122. Cf. also the *Biographia Dramatica*, III, 125.

[5] Copies with cuts in the British Museum and Bodleian; the Guildhall copy has lost the "sculptures."



"THE TEMPLE OF HONOUR"
(Fourth Pageant, *Glory's Resurrection*, 1698) (See p. 124)

MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS[1]

The Life and Death of Major Clancie, The Grandest Cheat of this Age. Wherein is set forth many of his Villanous Projects (Real Matter of Fact) both in England, Ireland, France, Spain and Italy; at last was Executed at Tyburn, the Reading of which will give the Reader great satisfaction. Published by Authority. London, Printed by D. Mallet, and are to be sold at his House in Half Moon Court adjoining to Ludgate. 1680.

Since no copy of this work could be found, I can add nothing to the brief account by Hazlitt[2] to whom I am indebted for the full title.[3] He tells us that the piece was published in octavo "with a dedicatory epistle to an unnamed Lady by E. S., some verses by him to the Ladies of the Court, and a notice to the Reader." I fancy that the work must be similar to *The Compleat Memoirs of . . . . Will Morrell.*

The Compleat Memoirs of the Life of that Notorious Impostor Will Morrell, alias Bowyer, alias Wickham, &c. who died at Mr. Cullen's the Bakers in the Strand, Jan. 3, 169½. With Considerable Additions never before Published.

Aude aliquid Brevibus Gyaris & carcere dignum,
Sivis esse aliquid. . . . .

Licensed, April 14. 1694. London: . . . . 1694.[4]

The dedication "To Gabriel Balam, Esq.," contains a stanza from "Gondibert" and is signed "E. Settle." The subject of the piece began as a chirurgeon at Banbury; becoming tired of making money slowly, he became a "Notorious Impostor" and swindler who, in the guise of nobleman, merchant, or professional man, married unsuspecting women of wealth, whom he deserted as soon as he obtained their money. The basis of the work is very probably fact, but Settle, no doubt, drew on his imagination for a great many incidents. The piece, which is rather cleverly written, reminds one, both in matter and manner, of the novels of Defoe.

[1] Settle's other non-dramatic prose works have been discussed under "Quarrels and Controversies" and "City Pageants."

[2] *Bibliographical Collections and Notes on Early English Literature, Third and Final Series* (1887).

[3] Licensed under slightly abridged title, February, 1680 (*vide* the *Term Catalogues*).

[4] Copies in the British Museum, the Guildhall, and Bodleian.

THE TRANSLATION

"Hypsipyle to Jason" is Settle's part in *Ovid's Epistles Translated . . . . 1683*,[1] and, so far as verse is concerned, compares favorably with the other translations of the *Epistles*.[2]

[1] Wood (*Athenae Oxonienses*, IV, 689) says that the work appeared in a second edition in October, 1681.

[2] In the edition of 1712 (the eighth) the authors included are: Pope, Dryden, Wright, Pulteney, Tate, Flatman, Cooper, Behn, Duke, Mulgrave, Rymer, Wharton, Settle, Otway, Caryl, Oldmixon, Butler, Salusbury.

CONTROVERSIAL WORKS[1]

Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco Revised. With Some few Errata's to be Printed instead of the Postscript, with the next Edition of the Conquest of Granada.

Impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille Togatas?
Hic Elegos?—Juven.

London, ... 1674.[2]

The Character of a Popish Successour and what England may expect From Such a One. Humbly offered to the Consideration of Both Houses of Parliament, Appointed to meet at Oxford, On the One and twentieth of March, $168\frac{0}{1}$. London, ... MDCLXXXI.

A Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor: in a Reply To Two Pretended Answers to it. By the Author of the Character. London: . . . . 1681.

The Character of a Popish Successour Compleat: in Defence of the First Part, against Two Answers, one Written by Mr L'Estrange, called The Papist in Masquerade, &c. And another By an Unknown Hand. London: . . . . 1681.

Absalom Senior: or, Achitophel Transpos'd. A Poem.

Si Populus vule decipi,

&c. London: . . . . 1682.

A Narrative. Written By E. Settle.

Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jungere si velit, & varias inducere plumas
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem, Mulier formosa superne,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici.

London, ... 1683.

A Supplement to the Narrative. In Reply to the Dulness and Malice of two pretended Answers To that Pamphlet. Written by E. Settle.

Carmine dum tali Sylvas Animasque Ferrarum
Threicius Vates & Saxa sequentia traxit,
Ecce Nurus Ciconum.—Ovid. *Metam.*

London, ... 1683.

[1] These have been discussed under "Quarrels and Controversies." The dramatic pieces, which contain controversial matter, are not included in this list of "Controversial Works."

[2] A reprint of this was published in 1687 as *Reflections on Several of Mr. Drydens' Plays.*

Animadversions on the Last Speech and Confession of the late William Lord Russell. London . . . . MDCLXXXIII.

Some Animadversions on the Paper Delivered to the Sheriffs, on Friday December, the 7th, 1683. By Algernon Sidney, Esq; Before he was Executed. London: . . . . 1683.

The Present State of England In Relation to Popery Manifesting the Absolute Impossibility of Introducing Popery and Arbitrary Power into this Kingdom. Being a Full Confutation of all Fears and Apprehensions of the Imagined Dangers from thence; and particularly of a Certain Pamphlet, Entituled, The Character of a Popish Successor, By E. Settle. London, ... MDCLXXXIV.

Insignia Bataviae: or, the Dutch Trophies Display'd; Being Exact Relations Of the Unjust, Horrid, and most Barbarous Proceedings of the Dutch Against the English in the East-Indies. Whereby is plainly Demonstrable what the English must expect from the Hollanders, when at any Time or Place they become their Masters. By Elkanah Settle. Published with Allowance. London, ... 1688.[1]

Public Occurrences Truly Stated.[2]

[1] "Edited by Settle." Though the piece is not strictly controversial in character, it was written to turn public sentiment against the Dutch.

[2] Numbers from August 7 to October 2, 1688.

DOUBTFUL WORKS

This list consists of those works that have been attributed to Settle but concerning which I could not find evidence sufficient to conclude whether the poet wrote them or not.

A Pindarick to His Grace Christopher Duke of Albemarle, &c. Lately Elected Chancellour of the University of Cambridge. London, Printed for Randal Taylor, 1682.[1]

The third Advice to A Painter How to draw the Effigies of the Whore of Rome. Whose Character is Lively represented by a Bad Woman.[2]

Consolation to Mira Mourning. A Poem. Discovering a certain Governor's Intrigue with a Lady at his Court. Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1710. Price 2 Pence.[3]

Latin Poem, dedicated to the Princess Sophia.[4]

Threnodia Hymenaea.[5]

[1] The copy of the work in the British Museum has the name of "Elkanah Settle" written on the title-page in what seems to be a contemporary hand, and the poem is catalogued under Settle; the style is much like the poet's, but the internal evidence is not conclusive.

[2] The piece bears no date. The British Museum catalogue refers to it thus: "[In verse, by Elkanah Settle?] [1687?]." If 1687 is the correct date, it is unlikely that Settle was the author, for he wrote for the Tory cause from 1683 to 1689.

[3] The copy in the private library of John H. Wrenn, Esq., Chicago, is the only one that I have seen. Concerning this piece, Mr. Wise says: "This . . . . has been ascribed to both Prior and Settle, but is now pretty generally accepted as the work of the latter poet. But there is not, so far as I am aware, any direct or absolute evidence to fix it upon him. The little poem is a rarity, and some three or four years ago a copy was sold (as Prior's) for £20."

[4] This is not the title of a poem, and the reference may be to one of Settle's poems already mentioned. Dunton (*Life and Errors* [1718], 243) refers to it thus: "His Latin Poem, dedicated to Princess Sophia, has shown he is a man of Learning." I know of no poem with a dedication to "Princess Sophia," but it is barely possible that he published a special edition, with such a dedication, of his *Carmen Irenicum* or of his *Eusebia Triumphans.*

[5] No reference to it except in the *Sales Catalogues* (Sotheby) which attribute the work to Settle, and add, "bought by Maggs for 7*s.* June 28, 1906." Messrs. Maggs Brothers' records give no additional information.

An Epistle to Mr. Handel, upon his Operas of Flavius and Julius Caesar.

Orpheus in Sylvis, inter Delphinas Arion
—Virg. *Ecl.* 8
Hear how *Timotheus'* Various Lays Surprize,
And bid alternate Passions fall and rise.—Pope.

London: Printed for J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane. 1724. [Price 4d.][1]

[1] I have seen the copy in Mr. Wrenn's library. The title is found in Colonel Grant's revised copy of Halkett and Laing's *A Dictionary of the Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature of Great Britain*, but it is entered with Settle's name between brackets.

WORKS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO SETTLE

Azaria and Hushai, A Poem.

Quod cuique risum est sentiant.

London. Printed for Charles Lee. An. Dom. 1682.[1]

The Medal Revers'd. A Satyre against Persecution. By the Author of Azaria and Hushai.

. . . . Laudatur ab his, Culpatur ab illis.

London; Printed for Charles Lee, Anno 1682.[2]

[1] This piece was attributed to Settle by Wood (*Athenae Oxon.*, IV, 687). There is little doubt that Pordage was the author (cf. Malone, *The . . . . Works of John Dryden*, I, 164).

[2] Pordage was, in all probability, the author of this also.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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INDEX

INDEX

"Abhorrer," 63.
Abney, Sir Thomas, 125.
Absalom and Achitophel, 23, 67, 68.
Absalom Senior: or Achitophel Transpos'd, 23, 24, 67, 71, 129.
Achilles Tatius, 89.
Addison, Joseph, 42, 120.
Algiers, 92, 93.
Allegory, political, 79.
Ambitious Slave, The, 29, 77, 98, 99.
America, 123.
Ames, Joseph, 3.
Amy, John, 115.
Animadversions on the Last Speech and Confession . . . . of Lord Russell, 25, 71, 130.
Anne, duchess of Buccleugh and Monmouth, 10–12.
Anne, Queen, 51, 112, 113, 126.
Answer to a Late Pamphlet . . . . , An, 65.
Antidote against Poison, 25.
Argyle, John, duke of, 39.
Armorial bindings. *See* Bindings.
Ashurst, Sir William, 29, 123.
Assignation, The, 53, 54.
Athenian Coffee-house, The, 97.
Athenian Gazette, The, 98.
Athenian Mercury, 98.
Athenian Society, 29, 78.
Augusta Lacrimans (1699), 33, 111; (1704), 33, 112; (1709), 37, 114; (1712, to Baynton), 38, 116; (1712, to Furnesse), 38, 116; (1714), 39, 117; (1716), 39, 118; (1718), 41, 120; (1719), 42, 120.
Augusta Triumphans (1705), 33, 45, 46, 112; (1707), 34, 113; (1711), 38, 115; (1714), 39, 117.
Aureng-Zebe, 19.
Autograph remains, 45.
Azaria and Hushai, 133.

Baggs, Zachary, 95.
Balam, Gabriel, 29, 127.
Banbury, 127.
Barber, Morgan, 5.
Barber-chirurgeon, 4, 5, 7.
Barbier, Mrs., actress, 108.
Barker, Samuel, 34, 113.
Bartholomew Fair, 31–36, 77, 79, 96, 105, 106.
Bateman, Sir James, 41, 120.
Bavaria, Elector of, 32.
Bayley, George, 4.
Baynton, Charles, 38, 116.
Beaumont and Fletcher, 30, 37, 78, 92, 99, 106.
Bedfordshire, 4, 5.
Behn, Mrs. Aphra, 128.
Bell, the (Dunstable), 6, 7.
Beloe, William, 13.
Benedictines, 63.
Bethlehem Hospital, 114.
Betterton, Thomas, 14, 27, 36, 79, 95, 110.
Bill, Exclusion, 21, 24, 61, 64, 67.
Bindings, special, for presentation copies of poems, 33, 34, 38, 39, 45, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121.
Blank verse, 78, 80, 86, 98.
Blaydes, F. A., 5, 7.
Bluck, family of, 6.
Bluck, Matthew, 6, 33, 111.
Booth, Barton, the actor, 30, 79, 106.
Boxted, 3.
Britannia's Welcome to the Protestant Prince of Orange, 51, 110.
Briton, The, 43.
Brydges, Sir E., 29.
Buccleugh, Duchess of. *See* Anne.
Buckingham, George, duke of, 57.
Buckworth, Sir John, 37, 114.
Burlington, Earl of, 33, 43, 112, 121.

Cademan, William, 5, 90.
Caesar Borgia, 64.
Caligula, 55.
Calisto, 16.
Cambyses, 9–12, 17, 51–53, 57, 77, 80–83, 85.
Care, Henry, 26, 72, 73.

Careless, Lovers, The, 15, 54, 79.
Carmen Irenicum (1702), 33, 111; (1707), 34, 113; (1708), 37, 113.
Carmen Natalitium, 33, 111.
Cassandra: or, the Virgin Prophetess, 33, 77, 103.
Castle-Rizing, Lord, 17.
Catholics, 21, 61, 62, 92.
Caution-money book, Trinity College, Oxford, 8, 11.
Celliers, "Dame," 62.
Chambers, R., 105.
Chambrelan (?), Caesar, 39, 118.
Character of an Honest Man, The, 68.
Character of a Papist in Masquerade, The, 65.
Character of a Popish Successor, The, 16, 22, 24, 64, 66, 69, 71, 72, 73, 129.
Character of a Popish Successour Compleat, The, 66, 129.
Character of a Rebellion, The, 66.
Character of the True Blue Protestant Poet, A, 4, 5, 6, 16, 17, 68, 70.
Charles II, 51, 67.
Charterhouse, 17, 33, 35, 42, 43.
Chetwood, W. R., 80, 108.
Child, Sir Francis, 124.
Child, Sir Josiah, 33, 111.
Chock, Miss Dennis, 103.
Cibber, C., 36.
Cibber, Susanna Maria, actress, 36.
Cibber, T., 28, 35, 57, 79.
"City Laureat," 47.
City Poet, 27, 28, 29, 46, 47.
City-Ramble, The, 37, 40, 77, 78, 96, 105, 106.
Civil War, 51, 79, 90.
Clancie, Major. *See Life and Death.*
Clarke, Jeremiah, 100.
Clayton, Sir Robert, 35, 113.
Clitiphon and Leucippe, 89.
Cloth-workers' Company, 123.
Cochrane, Anne, 121.
Collier, Jeremy, 106.
Comedy, domestic, 79; moral aims in, 40, 105; Restoration, 41; romantic, 79; satiric, 79.
Comic opera, 79.
Compleat Memoirs of the Life of . . . . Will Morrell, 29, 127.
Connoisseur, The, 45, 48, 109.
Conquest of China, The, 11, 12, 17, 18, 77, 84.
Conquest of Granada, The, 15, 19, 59, 85.
Considerations upon a Printed Sheet, Entitled the Speech . . . ., 25.
Consolation to Mira Mourning, 37, 131.
Cony-poacher, 4.
Cooke, Alexander, 90.
Cotton Library, 33, 111.
Cottrell, Sir Clement, 119.
Covent Garden, theater in, 95.
Coventry, Thomas, earl of, 38, 115.
Coxcomb, The, 37, 78, 106.
Crashaw, Richard, 42.
Crisp, Sir Thomas, 33, 112.
Cromwell, Oliver, 6.
Cross, Mrs. [James C. (?)], 101, 103.
Crossley, James, 90.
Crowne, John, 12, 14, 16, 55.
Cumes (spelled also Coomes), Francis, 4.
Dacorum, Hundred of, 4.
Dances, use of, 79, 96, 101, 103, 104.
Danube, 124.
Dashwood, Sir Samuel, 125.
D'Aumont, Duke, French ambassador, 38, 116.
D'Avenant, Sir William, 9, 12, 13, 19.
Davenport, Cyril James, 28, 45, 48, 109, 116.
"Decius and Paulina, A Masque," 108.
Defoe, D., 127.
Dekker, Thomas, 55, 57, 90.
Dennis, John, 11, 14, 15, 29, 51, 52, 53, 55, 59, 73, 80.
Devonshire, William, duke of, 35, 114.
Dialogue between the Earl of Sh. . . . ry, E. Settle and Dr. Oates at parting, 68.
Dibdin, Charles, 18, 42.
Distress'd Innocence, 27, 77, 93.
Distressed Innocency, 93.
Dodsley, R., 35, 89, 108.
Doggett, Thomas, actor, 36.
Dominicans, 63.
Dorset Garden theater, 13, 15, 19, 31, 69, 77, 82, 85, 88.
Dorset House, 13.
Dowdeswell, arms of, 115.
Downes, John, 9, 10, 17, 29, 53, 79.

Dragon, 36.
Drake, Sir Francis, 67.
Drake, Sir Francis Henry, 120.
Drama, types of, 78.
Drapers' Company, 122.
Drolls, 31, 35, 77, 78, 79, 96, 105.
Drury Lane theater, 15, 23, 36, 37, 43, 88, 92, 108.
Dryden, John, 11–15, 19, 20, 23, 35, 51, 52–54, 56–60, 64, 67, 68, 73, 79, 80, 95, 96, 128.
Duffet, Thomas, 15.
Duke of Guise, The, 79.
Duke of York's company, 13, 15.
Duke's Theatre, the (in Dorset Garden), 19, 69, 77.
Dunciad, 37, 43.
Duncombe, Sir Charles, 126.
Dundonald, John, earl of, 43, 121.
Dunstable, 4–8, 10.
Dunton, John, 73, 80, 97, 98, 131.
Dutch, the, 8, 72.
Dyre, Elizabeth, 7.

Editions, the various, of the plays, 77, 82.
Elegy on the Late Fire and Ruins of London, An, 12, 110.
Elizabeth, Queen, 63, 67.
Elliot, A., 71.
Emperor of Morocco, The, 67, 92.
Empress of Morocco, The, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 51–58, 69, 77, 82–85.
Empress of Morocco: A Farce, The, 15.
Epistle to Mr. Handel, An, 132.
Epsom Wells, 57.
Essay on the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, 26.
Eucharist, The, 39, 43, 48, 119.
Eunuch, The, 86.
Eulogistic poems, 22.
Eusebia Triumphans (1702), 33, 47, 72, 111, 112; (1703 [?]), 33, 112; (1704), 33, 112; (1705), 33, 112; (1709), 37, 114; (1711), 38, 115; (1715), 39, 117.
Exclusion Bill, the, 21, 24, 61, 64, 67.
Expulsion of the Danes from Britain, The, 43, 77, 108.

Fairholt, F. W., 28, 32, 122, 123, 126.
Fairy Queen, The, 29, 35, 77, 78, 79, 95, 96, 104.
Faithful Shepherdess, The, 78.
Fanshawe, Sir Richard, 88.
Fatal Contract, The, 17, 85.
Fatal Love, 21, 62, 77, 78, 89, 90.
Fears and Dangers, Fairly Display'd, 34, 72, 113.
Female Prelate, The (*Pope Joan*), 21, 22, 63, 77, 90, 91.
Ferrex and Porrex, 13.
Field, Edward, 4.
Fielding, Henry, 36.
Fiennes, arms of, 114.
Finger, G., 104, 105.
Fire, the Great, 12.
Fishmongers' Company, 33, 125.
Fitzgerald, Mrs., actress, 108.
Fitzgerald, P. B., 13.
Fitz-Harry's Treason-in-Grain, 70.
Flatman, Thomas, 32, 128.
Fleet, Sir John, 122.
Fletcher, John, 30, 37, 78, 79, 92, 99, 106.
France, "scenes" from, 14, 31.
Franciscans, 63.
French chronicle, 17.
French romance, 19.
French material, 30.
Funeral poems, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42, 109, 118, 120, 121.
Funeral Tear, A, 33, 112.
Furness, H. H., 96.
Furnesse, Sir Henry, 38, 116.
Fyfe, William Butler, 9.

Gaddesden, Great, 4.
Gainsborough, Baptist, earl of, 39, 117.
Gainsborough, Dorothy, countess of, 117.
Gayland, 92, 93.
Genest, John, 60, 82, 85, 87, 89, 92, 94, 99, 106, 108.
Gentleman's Magazine, The, 11.
Geoffrey, John, 4.
George I, 39, 47, 117, 119.
George of Denmark, 126.
George, the (Dunstable), 6, 7.
Ghosts, 82, 90.
Glory's Resurrection, 32, 124.
Gloucester, William, duke of, 33, 111.
Godfrey, Sir Edmundbury, 62, 67, 69.
Godolphin, Lord, prime minister, 34.
Goldsmiths' Company, 36, 124, 126.

Gondibert, 127.
Gore, Sir William, 33, 125.
Gorham, G. C., 116.
Gosse, E., 24.
Gow, J., 8.
Great Gaddesden, 4.
Green, John, 120.
Green, J. R., 34.
Greenberry Hill, 62.
Green Ribbon Club, 24.
Grey Friars, 63.
Grocers' Company, 28, 29, 122.
Growth of Popery, The, 70.
Guarini, G., 19, 88.
Guildhall, 38, 45, 47, 82, 87, 114, 115, 117, 122, 124, 126.
Gunpowder Plot, 67.

Haberdashers' Company, 32, 125.
Halifax, George, marquis of, 30.
Halifax, George Savile, marquis of, 64, 67.
Halkett and Laing, 119, 132.
Hamet, Prince Muly, 56.
Handel, G. F., 132.
Hanover succession, 33, 45, 51, 112.
Hare, Henry, 37, 114.
Haslewood, J., 31.
Hayns, Joseph, actor, 100, 102.
Hazlitt, W. C., 22, 96, 105, 111, 127.
Hedges, Sir Charles, 39, 47, 117.
Hedges, Sir William, 47.
Heir of Morocco, The, 23, 67, 68, 77, 92, 93.
Hemel Hempstead, 4–6, 8, 25, 33.
Heminge, William, 17, 85.
Henry V, 118.
Henry VIII, 42.
Heraclitus Ridens, 22, 64, 65.
Herod and Mariamne, 17, 77, 79, 84.
Heroic couplet, the, 20, 71, 78, 80, 87, 109.
Heroic love, 80, 81, 85, 98.
Heroic play, the, 81, 82, 86, 92.
Heroic tragedy, 12, 78, 81, 83.
Heroick Poem on the Coronation of . . . . James II, 26, 72, 110.
Heroick Poem on the Right Honourable Thomas Earl of Ossory, An, 23, 110.
Hertfordshire, 4, 5, 111.
Hertford County Records, 4.
Hervey, Rev. Thomas, 120.
Hidgen, Henry, 26, 110.
History of the Livery Companies, 123.
Hodges, Sir William, 117.
Holborn, 5, 16,
Holland, 8, 24, 69.
Holles, Lady Henrietta, 37, 114.
Honori Sacellum (1707), 35, 114; (1709), 37, 115; (1712), 38, 115; (1717), 39, 109, 119; (1721), 43, 121.
Houblon, Sir John, 123.
Hounslow Heath, 26.
Howard, Lady Elizabeth, 13.
Hunsdon Hall, 6, 33, 111.
Hypsipyle to Jason 23, 128.

Ibrahim, 11–13, 18, 19, 53, 60, 61, 77, 79, 86, 87.
Insignia Bataviae, 26, 72, 130.
Intercepted Letter to Mr. L'Estrange, 70.
Irene Triumphans (1713, to D'Aumont), 38, 116; (1713, to the peace-makers), 38, 116.
Ironmonger, T., 39, 119.
Islington, 20, 98.

Jacobites, 72.
James II, 26, 51, 67, 72, 73.
Jefferies, Sir George, 24, 67, 71.
Jesuits, 63.
Jonson, Ben, 55, 57.

King Arthur, 79, 96.
King's company, 23.
Knight of the Burning Pestle, The, 37, 78, 106.

Lady's Triumph, The, 40, 41, 77, 78, 96, 107.
Lane, Sir Thomas, 123.
Langbaine, Gerald, 12, 16, 17, 18, 23, 26, 27, 31, 32, 60, 68, 84, 85, 89, 90, 93, 95, 100, 111.
"Latin Poem dedicated to the Princess Sophia," 131.
Lee, Nathaniel, 64.
Leicestershire, 3, 4.
Leigh, Mrs. (daughter of Mrs. Mynn), 75.
L'Estrange, Sir Roger, 62–66.
Letters, autograph, 45–47.
Letter to Mr. Settle, A, 70.

Leveridge, Richard, 101, 103, 108.
Levett, Sir Richard, 125.
Libertine, The, 18, 61.
Licensing of plays, dates of, 77.
Life and Death of Major Clancie, The, 22, 127.
Lincoln's-Inn-Fields theater, the, 9, 11, 13, 40, 51, 77.
Lister, Dr. Martin, 38, 116.
Little Gaddesden, 4.
London Gazette, The, 32.
Lord Mayor's Day, 32, 36, 125.
Lord mayor's shows, 28, 29, 30, 32, 122.
Love and Revenge, 18, 45, 60, 77–79, 85, 86.
Loudon, Earl of, 116.
Lowe, R. W., 13, 14.
Lowndes, W. T., 117, 119, 121.
Loyal Brother, The, 64.
Ludgate, 55.
Luton, 7.
Lytton, Lytton, 37, 115.

Maggs Brothers, 131.
Malone, Edmond, 11, 21, 24, 67, 92, 133.
Mammamouchi, 53.
Manuscript of *Love and Revenge*, 45.
Manuscripts, the Rawlinson, 34, 112, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121.
Mare Clausum, 8, 110.
Marlborough, John Churchill, duke of, 34, 43, 112, 121.
Marriage à la Mode, 53.
Masques, 79, 102, 108.
Medal Revers'd, The, 133.
Memoriae Fraganti (1708), 37, 114; (1713), 39, 117.
Mercers' Company, 125.
Merchant-Taylors' Company, 29, 123.
Middleton, Thomas, 30, 90.
Midsummer-Night's Dream, A, 78, 96, 100.
Minerva Triumphans, 33, 111.
Mock Tempest, The, 15.
Monmouth, Duchess of. *See* Anne.
Monmouth, James, duke of, 67.
Moral teaching in the drama, 78.
Morley, H., 13, 36, 105.
Morrell, Will. *See Compleat Memoirs.*
Mountfort, William, 27.
Mulgrave, John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, earl of, 12–14, 52, 128.
Musa Triumphans, 37, 114.
Muses Address to the Earl of Burlington, 43, 121.
Muses' Mercury, The, 30.
Music. *See* Opera.
Mynn, Mrs., owner of booth at Bartholomew Fair, 35, 36, 105.
Mythological material, use of, 65, 88, 96, 97, 101, 102, 104, 108, 124, 126.

Nagg's Head tavern (Dunstable), 6, 7.
Narrative, A, 24, 69–71, 129.
Narrative of the Popish Plot, 69, 73.
New Athenian Comedy, The, 29, 77, 97.
Newcastle, William, duke of, 37, 60, 114.
New World in the Moon, The, 100, 103.
Nichols, J. G., 122.
North, Roger, 25, 42.
Norwich, Henry, earl of, 12–14, 54.
Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco (by Dryden, Crowne, and Shadwell), 55, 60.
Notes and Observations on the Empress of Morocco Revised (by Settle), 57, 60, 129.
Notes on the Emperor of Morocco, by the Wits, 23, 68.
Notitia Dramatica, 87.

Oates, Titus, 69, 70, 73.
Oberon, 65, 97.
Oldys, William, 12, 16, 27, 110, 121.
Opera, 29, 31, 33, 40, 78, 79, 95, 100, 104.
Orange, William III, prince of, 26, 51, 73, 110.
Ormond, James Butler, duke of, 23, 32.
Otway, Thomas, 11, 24, 71, 128.
Ovid's Epistles Translated by Several Hands, 23, 128.
Oxford, 8, 9, 11, 51, 64.
Oxford, Robert Harley, earl of, 39, 48, 120.

Pacquet of Advice from Rome. . . . . See Weekly Pacquet. . . . .
Pageants, city, 28–33, 36, 37, 122–26; pope-burning, 21, 22, 28, 61, 62, 64, 79.
Panegyrick on the Loyal and Honourable Sir George Jefferies, A, 24, 71, 110.

Parish Register, the Charterhouse, 43; the Dunstable, 6, 7; the Hemel Hempstead, 5, 25; the Luton, 7; the St. Andrew's, 16; the St. Giles-in-the-Fields, 43; the Woburn, 7.
Pastor Fido, 19, 21, 77, 78, 87, 88, 89.
Pastoral elements, use of, 78, 79.
Pepys, Samuel, 92.
Pettit, Clement, 39, 119.
Philaster, 30, 77, 78, 99.
Pindarick, to . . . . , Albemarle, A, 131.
Pindarick Poem on the Propagation of the Gospel . . . . , 38, 115.
Playhouse. *See* Theater.
Plays, editions of, a list of, when and where acted, 77.
Poem on the Birth-Day Of . . . . King George, A, 39, 119.
Poem on the Birth-Day Of . . . . the Princess of Wales, A, 39, 119.
Poem on the Marriage of Lord Dunkellin, 39, 117.
Poems on the Marriage of Mr. T. Ironmonger, 39.
Poet's Complaint to his Muse, The, 24.
Political allegory, 78.
Pope, Alexander, 33, 36, 37, 43, 72, 128, 132.
Pope-burning pageants, 21, 22, 28, 61, 62, 64, 79.
Pope Joan, 21, 35, 63, 64, 77, 78, 90, 91, 96.
Popish Plot, 24, 61, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71.
Pordage, Samuel, 17, 77, 84, 133.
Post-Boy, 31, 79, 93.
Pratt, Henry, 4.
Presentation poems, 32, 45.
Present State of England, The, 26, 71, 130.
Pretender, the old, 39, 72, 118.
Prior, Matthew, 37, 131.
Prologue to Cambyses, 110.
Prophetess, The, 79.
Protestant Admirer, The, 66.
Protestant Plot, 67.
Psyche, 61.
Psyche Debauched, 15.
Public Occurrences Truly Stated, 26, 72, 73, 130.
Puddifatt, Richard, 4.
Purcell, Daniell (?), 100, 102.
Purcell, Henry, 95, 96.
Pye Corner, 32.

Quarrel, with Dryden, 14, 15, 51–59; with Otway, 24; with Shadwell, 18, 60, 61.
"Queens-Theatre," 29, 79.

Ramilly, 113.
Ravenscroft, Edward, 15, 53.
Rawlinson, Richard, 111, 113.
Rawlinson, Sir Thomas, 33, 45, 46, 112.
Rawlinson manuscripts, the, 34, 112, 114, 117, 118, 120, 121.
Rebellion Display'd, 39, 72, 118.
Records of the City of London, 28.
Reed, Isaac, 36, 87.
Reflexions upon a Late Pamphlet . . . . , 35, 70, 96.
Reflexions on Several of Mr. Dryden's Plays . . . . , 57, 129.
Remarks upon E. Settle's Narrative, 69, 70.
Reply to the Second Part of the Character . . . . , *A*, 66.
Restoration comedy, 41.
Restoration drama, 78.
Restoration dramatists, 30.
Restoration theater, 13.
Revenge tragedy, 78.
Revenger's Tragedy, The, 86.
Rochester, John Wilmot, earl of, 12, 15, 24, 52–54, 57, 60.
Rose Street, 23, 68.
"Roytelet of Whigland," 65.
Russell, Lord William, 25, 71, 130.
Rymer, Thomas, 128.

St. Andrew's, Holborn, 5, 16.
St. Anthony, 123.
St. Dunstan, 124.
St. George for England, 35.
St. Giles-in-the-Fields, 43.
Sacellum Apollinare, 30, 110.
Sacellum Honoris, 33, 111.
Sackville House, 13.
Sackville, Thomas, 13.
Salisbury Court, 13.
Saracen's Head tavern (Dunstable), 6, 7.
Sault, Richard, 98.

Scaffold lately executed in Westminster Hall, The, 33, 111.
Scenes, French, 14, 30.
Scenic display, 18, 79, 83, 84.
Schelling, Felix E., 86.
Scott, Sir Walter, 52, 53.
Scott and Saintsbury, 15, 16, 35, 52, 64.
Scudéry, Madeleine de, 87.
"Sculptures," 14, 32, 56, 82, 124, 126.
Session of the Poets, A (by Rochester), 60.
Session of the Poets held at the foot of Parnassus Hill, July, 9, 1696, 32, 35.
Settle, Dionyse, 3.
Settle, Elkanah (the poet's uncle), 4, 5, 6, 25.
Settle, George, 7.
Settle, Jeremiah, 7.
Settle, John, 3, 4, 5.
Settle, John (the poet's brother), 7.
Settle, Josias (the poet's father), 5, 6, 7, 10.
Settle, Josias (the poet's brother), 7.
Settle, Marjorie, 4.
Settle, Mrs. Mary, 17.
Settle, Matthew, 3.
Settle, Mrs. Sarah (the poet's mother), 6.
Settle, Sarah (the poet's sister), 7.
Settle, Thomas, 3.
Shadwell, Thomas, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 24, 55, 60, 61.
Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley, earl of, 21–24, 51, 61, 63, 64, 65, 69, 73, 78, 92.
Shakespeare, William, 78.
Sham Lawyer, The, 31.
Shaw, Sir John, 43, 121.
Sheffield. *See* Mulgrave.
Sidney, Algernon, 25, 71, 130.
Siege of Rhodes, 19.
Siege of Troy, The, 35, 37, 77, 78, 105.
Sitwell, Sir George, 21, 61, 62.
Sloane, Sir Hans, 45, 46.
Smithfield, 36.
Some Animadversions on the Paper . . . . By Algernon Sidney, 25, 71, 130.
Some Succinct Remarks . . . . , 25.
Somerset House, 3, 5, 25, 62.
Sophia, Princess, 131.
Sophonisba, 64.
Southerne, Thomas, 64.
Southwark Fair, 33, 35, 79.
Spanish Armada, 67.
Spectacular elements, use of. *See* Scenic display.
Speech of the late Lord Russell . . . . , The, 25.
Spes Hunsdoniana, 6, 33, 111.
Stamp, Sir Thomas, 122.
Standon, 4.
Steele, Richard, 42.
Supplement to the Narrative, A, 24, 71, 129.
Susa, 81.
Sutton, Thomas, 42.

Taffalet, King of, 83, 84.
Tate, Nahum, 98.
Taubman, Matthew, 28.
Taverns. *See* Bell, George, Nagg's Head, Saracen's Head.
Taylor, Sir Thomas, 69.
Thalia Lacrimans (1710), 37, 115; (1714), 39, 117.
Thalia Triumphans (1706), 34, 113; (1715), 39, 118; (1720, to Drake), 42, 120; (1720 [?], to Green), 42, 120; (1720, to Watts), 42, 120.
Thanet, Isle of, 119.
Theatre, the Dorset Garden (known also as "the Duke's Theatre"), 13, 15, 19, 31, 69, 77, 82, 85, 88; the Drury Lane, 15, 23, 43, 108; the Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, 9, 11, 13, 40, 51, 77; the King's private at Whitehall, 11, 12, 13, 16, 51, 52, 77, 82; "Queens," 29, 77, 95; Royal, 21, 30, 33, 77, 89, 95.
Theobald, Lewis, 108.
Third Advice to a Painter, The, 131.
Thompson, N., 65.
Thorald, Sir Charles, 36, 114.
Thorndike, A. H., 78, 79.
Threnodia Apollinaris (1712), 38, 116; (1719), 42, 120.
Threnodium Apollinare (1708, to Hare), 37, 114; (1708, to Tyson), 37, 114.
Threnodia Britannica, 43, 121.
Threnodium Britannicum, 33, 111.
Threnodia Hymenaea, 131.
Thurmond, Mrs., actress, 108.
Thynne, Henry, 36, 115.
To the Author of a Poem Entitled "Successio," 72.
To H. Higden . . . . , 110.

Tofts, Katherine, actress, 88.
Tories, 16, 23–26, 34, 39, 51, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70–72, 118.
Tory Poets, The, 24, 60.
Tourneur, Cyril, 78, 86.
Tragedy, heroic, 12, 78, 81, 83; revenge, 78.
Tragicomedy, 79.
Translation, 128.
Trinity College, Cambridge, 8; Oxford, 8, 9, 11, 51.
Triumphant Widow, The, 60.
Triumphs of London, The (1691), 122; (1692), 29, 122; (1693), 29, 123; (1694), 29, 123; (1695), 30, 123; (1699), 32, 125; (1700), 33, 125; (1701), 33, 125; (1702), 33, 125; (1708), 37, 126.
True Blue Protestant Poet. See Character of the True Blue. . . . .
Tupper, J. W., 81.
Tyson, Dr. Edward, 37, 114.

Utrecht, treaty of, 38.

Venice Preserved, 79.
View of the Times, A, 26, 110.
Vindication of the Character of a Popish Successor, A, 22, 66, 129.
Vindication of Dr. Titus Oates . . . . . , A, 71.
Vindication of the Duke of Guise, The, 35, 68.
Vintners' Company, 28, 33, 46, 125.
Virgin Prophetess, The, 33, 37, 77, 79, 96, 103, 104, 105.
Virtuti Sacellum (1707), 35, 113; (1709), 37, 114; (1714), 39, 47, 117; (1720), 43, 121.
Vox Patriae, 70.
Vox Populi, 70.

Ward, A. W., 18, 87, 105.
Warner, Mary, 16.
Watling Street (Dunstable), 7.
Watson, Christopher, 3.
Watts, John, 120.
Webster, John, 78, 86.
Wedding-poems, 34, 39, 42, 109, 113, 118, 119, 120.
Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome, The, 72, 91.
Wells, William, 4.
Wesley, Samuel, 98.
Westfield, William, 39, 118.
Westminster, 124.
Westminster Hall, 16, 111.
Westminster School, 8.
Whigs, 16, 21–24, 34, 39, 61, 64, 67–70, 72, 73, 118.
Whincop, Thomas, 12, 13, 51, 57, 97, 100.
Whitehall, private theater in, 11, 21, 13, 16, 51, 52, 77, 82.
Will, of Elkanah Settle (the poet's uncle), 5, 25; of John Settle, 3; of Josias Settle, 7; of Matthew Settle, 3.
Wilmot, John, earl of Rochester. *See* Rochester.
William and Mary, 26, 27.
Wilson, Edward, 97.
Wise, Thomas J., 110, 119, 120, 131.
Woburn, 7.
Wood, Anthony à, 4, 8, 9, 11, 14, 23, 25, 26, 32, 55, 66, 68, 69, 71, 73, 133.
Woolfe, Lady Margaret, 39, 117.
Word Concerning Libels and Libellers, A, 65.
World in the Moon, The, 30, 31, 77–79, 96, 100, 102, 104, 108.
Wray, Sir Daniel, 42, 120.
Wren, Sir Christopher, 13.
Wrenn, John H., 92, 119, 121, 131, 132.
Wright, Harry S., 42.
York, James, duke of, 21, 24, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70.

Young, Edward, 36.

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